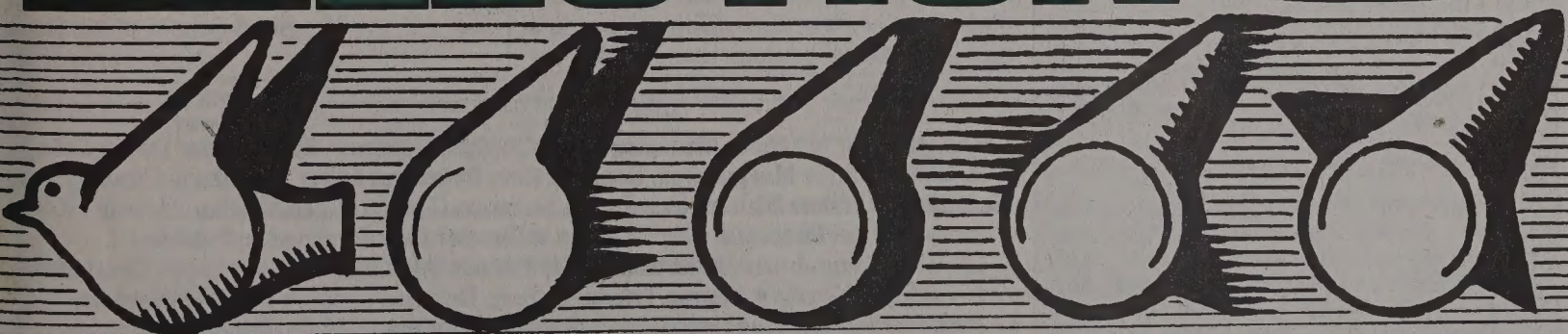


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NUCLEAR TIMES

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Letters

United States

The antinuclear movement in its present stage may be likened to the innumerable splinter parties in some countries where the democratic process is approaching chaos. As a result, the funding, the energies and the public following are badly fragmented. Clearly, if the various groups could be welded into some sort of unified force, their impact would be far more powerful.

An appropriate voice to issue a call for unity in the movement is *Nuclear Times*. In your Nov/Dec issue coverage of "The Day After," you quote a New York organizer as predicting, "if people start getting letters from four or five different groups, we could end up killing their good intentions." The fact is that many of us are already on the receiving end of mail from five, six or more groups. The most tempting way to resolve the confusion over which to contribute to is to contribute to none.

This is in no way to belittle the efforts of the many organizations working on behalf of the antinuclear cause. And I will not underestimate the formidable difficulties of spanning the diverse interests and methods of all these groups. But the grand objective that they all share can go far toward overcoming the problems. Certainly the potential benefit justifies a concerted attempt to bring unity into our ranks.

—Milton Sutton
Roslyn Heights, N. Y.

Hell on Wheels

Enjoyed your article on nuclear non-proliferation [Nov/Dec '83]. We in Save The River have been fighting to prevent high-level spent nuclear fuel from crossing the St. Lawrence River. This most dangerous cargo comes from Chalk River reactors in Canada headed for the Savannah River complex in South Carolina for plutonium extraction. The shipments raise questions beyond those raised by

intrastate transports because they originate in a foreign country. This makes grass-roots resistance much stauncher, and it is easier to build statewide opposition.

Why, for example, should New York, which has turned its back on nuclear power, now be burdened with providing safe conduits for Canadian shipments? Under the obsolete Atoms for Peace program, we sent our technology abroad under the misguided notion that atomic power was safe, cheap energy that could not easily be converted to weapons. Now, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty designed to correct past practices is proving unenforceable politically. Argentina, Taiwan and others out to develop their nuclear war capabilities have not returned nuclear wastes as demanded in the treaty, and the United States has done nothing to enforce the treaty. Canada, therefore, should be allowed—indeed required—to store its spent fuel on-site.

The present political chaos combined with grossly insufficient regulations and procedures in shipping, especially by trucks, makes it likely that our next Three Mile Island will take place on wheels almost anywhere.

—Abbie Hoffman
Clayton, N. Y.

Strong Medicine

Political action to halt the arms race is undoubtedly dependent on informed citizenry. Your excellent education issue [Oct '83] presents the process and the problems of this work, particularly with children. Health professionals among your readers may know that nuclear education is appearing in our schools as well. We recently surveyed the 123 Schools of Medicine about nuclear education and found that 54 of the 86 responding (63 percent) reported a course, lecture series, study group or seminar in their program. Twenty-one reported the development of a full-length, semester-long course. The development of faculty to teach in such programs is a commonly acknowledged problem.

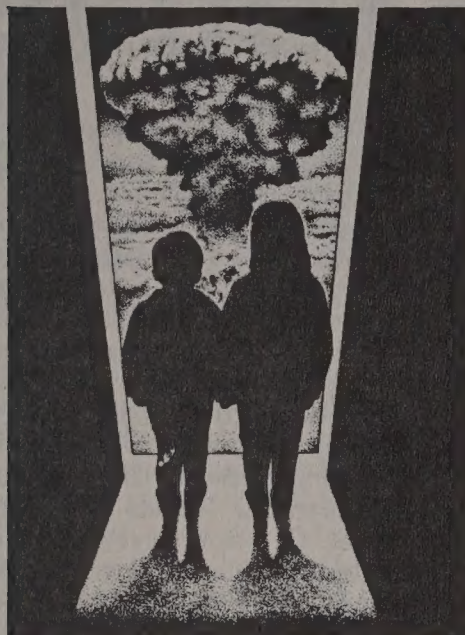
—Michael McCally, MD
Mt. Sinai School of Medicine
New York, N. Y.

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An Overview of the Arms Race

Robert McNamara, Paul Warnke, Dr. Herbert Scoville, Jr. and Dr. Helen Caldicott are among the notable speakers to present detailed information and balanced viewpoints on the nuclear arms race, including excerpts from 5 award winning films on the nuclear disarmament issue.

25 minutes Color 1983

If You Love This Planet



Dr. Helen Caldicott on Nuclear War
Academy Award 1982
Best Documentary Short
National Film Board of Canada

In a campus talk, Dr. Helen Caldicott, noted author and pediatrician, clearly emphasizes the perils of nuclear war and reveals a frightening progression of events which would follow a nuclear attack.

26 minutes Color 1982

No Place To Hide

Growing Up in the
Shadow of the Bomb
Narrated by Martin Sheen

Vintage film clips show how America was sold on the idea that nuclear attack is survivable in a fallout shelter. Martin Sheen's narration recreates the nightmares of a child growing up during the cold war.

29 minutes Color 1982

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Being With John F. Kennedy

A new intimate view of John F. Kennedy traces his progression from young Senator, to winning candidate, through the glories of the New Frontier, to heavily burdened President in crisis, and concludes with the impact of his death.

Coming Home

Academy Award
Best Actress 1979

This rare movie illuminates with magnificent sincerity the suffering of a crippled Vietnam veteran upon his return home. Stars Jane Fonda, Jon Voight, Bruce Dern.

Dr. Strangelove

Or How I Learned to Stop
Worrying and Love the Bomb

This classic by Stanley Kubrick presents a humorous and frightening look at the dangers of nuclear war. Starring Sterling Hayden, Peter Sellers, George C. Scott, and Slim Pickens.

The Life & Times of Rosie the Riveter

In this valuable history of working women, five former "Rosies" recall their experiences during World War II when women gained entry into major industrial plants and were then dismissed at the war's end.

Fail Safe

After a computer error launches an irreversible nuclear attack on Russia by SAC, the heads of each government struggle to save the world from annihilation. Stars Walter Matthau and Henry Fonda.

Harlan County, USA

Norma Rae

This extraordinary documentary chronicles the lengthy struggles by coal miners to win a union contract.

Sally Field portrays a southern textile worker determined to get union representation.

The Trials of Alger Hiss

This account details the espionage and perjury case that catapulted Congressman Richard Nixon to national prominence and sent former State Department Officer Alger Hiss to prison.

On The Beach

In this adaption of Nevil Shute's novel, a group of Australians await the effects of a nuclear war that has destroyed the rest of the world. Stars Gregory Peck, Ava Gardner, and Fred Astaire.

Wasn't That A Time

Pete Seeger, Lee Hays, Ronnie Gilbert and Fred Hellerman, formerly The Weavers, reminisce while preparing for their 1980 reunion at Carnegie Hall. Interviews and music combine for a telling history.

Vietnam Requiem

In this ABC News Special, five Vietnam veterans, all decorated war heroes, now serving prison terms are interviewed. The film relays the horrors of war and the unhappiness felt by these heroes.

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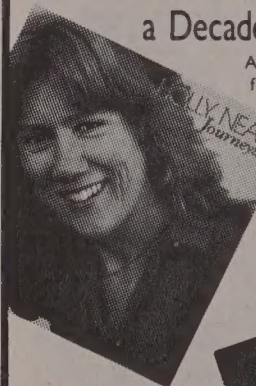


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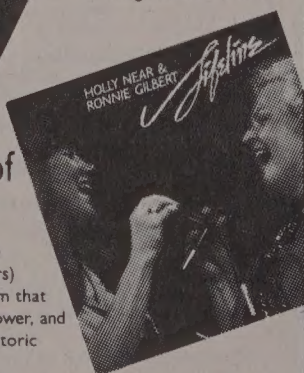
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Early Warnings

MX MARKS THE SPOT: By the end of January, the Air Force is scheduled to release the final environmental impact statement (EIS) on the MX missile. It is likely that in the spring the Air Force will begin construction in preparation for the deployment of the 100 MX missiles the Reagan administration wants to deploy in existing Minuteman missile silos in Wyoming and Nebraska. But even though Congress approved funds for the production of the first 21 MX missiles, national and local groups are still battling the missile.

Out West activists have been criticizing the draft EIS released last September. In the draft, the Air Force refused to examine the environmental impact of super-hardened silos, deep basing the missiles or installing a ballistic missile defense—all of which have been urged by MX advocates. The draft also reveals that the Air Force will be expanding the cable system that now connects Minuteman launch control centers to the missile silos. Under the new plan, even though each of the 10 control centers is primarily responsible for 10 MX missiles, any one of the centers will be able to launch all 100 MX missiles, thus insuring that an order to fire would be carried out.

Note: The Air Force office at the Pentagon in charge of the MX missile answers the phone, "Hello, Peacekeeper."

WAR GAME II: Peter Watkins' new movie is going to be an organizing tool long before it sees celluloid. The director of the 1965 Academy Award-winning and controversial film *The War Game* has embarked on a new movie about nuclear war—funded, scripted and performed by

amateurs at the grass roots.

The War Game, banned by the British Broadcasting Corporation, was a grueling, documentary-style vision of Armageddon and its aftermath. The aim of The War Game 2 Project is to show the effects of nuclear war on the whole global community—and to suggest an alternative, hopeful scenario by which it might be avoided. To give a world view, Watkins plans to focus on families in 10 countries, including the Soviet Union, Japan, India, the Marshall Islands and the United States. He is now traveling in the United States and around the world, setting up groups to help raise the necessary \$400,000 and to serve as the film's actors and production teams when shooting begins this summer. For Watkins, the process of making the film is a way of involving more people directly in international peace activism. Already in Portland, Oregon, and Utica, New York—the film's two American locations—the project has attracted more than 100 organizers.

ART FOR FREEZE SAKE: Some of the most renowned living artists, along with the estates of Ben Shahn and Milton Avery, participated in one of the biggest antinuclear fund-raising efforts ever. A veritable Who's Who of modern art—including sculptors Louise Nevelson, Isamu Noguchi and Claes Oldenburg; and painters Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, David Hockney, Alex Katz and Robert Motherwell—donated pieces to the Art for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze exhibit and auction which raised \$310,000 for the National Freeze Campaign.

The exhibit, put together with the help of artist Michael Mazur, travelled to nine

Blips

Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, chairman of the Catholic bishops' committee that drafted the pastoral letter on nuclear war, has now taken charge of the Bishops' Pro-Life Committee and vows to tie the anti-nuclear issue to a renewed campaign against abortion The video cassette of **The Day After** will be in the stores by the end of January selling for \$39.95 In an emotional speech in Congress, **Senator Orrin Hatch** recently revealed that the White House averages 100 letters a day from school children voicing fears about nuclear war, which Hatch complained were inspired by the National Education Association's curriculum guide, "Choices" **High Frontier**, which strongly advocates space-based "defensive" weapons, has set up its own PAC to aid High Frontiersmen running for office For her efforts to make peace activity a leading form of social work, **Sister Frances Russell**, a leader of the anti-MX fight in Wyoming, has been named Social Worker of the Year by the National Association of Social Workers This month Ballinger will publish the **American Peace Directory**, a guide to over 1300 movement groups compiled by the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies In the wake of strong public support for **Testament**, as many as a dozen new nuclear movies are in the works, including a remake of **On The Beach** and a film based on the forthcoming postnuclear attack novel, **Warday**, directed by Costa-Gavras.



Stuart Davis painting sold at auction

U.S. cities—including San Francisco, Dallas, and Boston—before ending up at Manhattan's Brooke Alexander gallery. In each city freeze activists worked together with gallery owners—all of whom donated space—to raise money for local freeze groups and to take bids for the "silent auction" which benefited the National Freeze Campaign. In Boston, for example, organizers charged \$100 for admission to the exhibit's local opening and raised \$14,000.

Bidders in St. Louis, Chicago, and the other exhibition cities submitted written offers to the participating galleries. The winning bids were announced on December 3 at a New York benefit by such stars as Richard Gere and Joanne Woodward.

HOLD THE MAYO: Court appearances for civil disobedience actions are often trying experiences. This is especially so when a judge such as Ronald Mayo presides. During the recent trial in San Diego of William Phipps, a participant in a June 20 blockade at the local Ballast Point submarine base (where sea-launched cruise missiles are tested), municipal court judge Mayo admitted that he was "biased against civil disobedience, you lousy rats who lie in the street," according to the *San Diego Tribune*.

Phipps, charged with obstructing a public street, attempted to present a "necessity" defense at his November 14 trial, noting that his action was aimed at preventing nuclear war. But Mayo refused to allow Phipps to do so. "None of this tripe is going in this case," Mayo said, adding, "You even mention cruise missiles, nuclear war and you'll be found in contempt." Phipps, who works for the Peter Maurin Catholic Worker, a social service agency for the poor, also tried to base his defense on international law and its applicability under the U.S. Constitution. Mayo forbade that, telling Phipps "[you] broke the law, that's why you're here." Mayo refused to let Phipps ask a prospective juror whether the judge's comments were prejudicial.

But the following day, Mayo excluded himself from the case, and Phipps was assigned a new judge. Phipps, who recently received a six-month sentence for

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October

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1975—FBI Asst. Director of Intelligence Division Warnall discussing mail-intercepting projects testifies: "... we retain the material indefinitely ..."

1975—FBI Chief of Counterintelligence Branigan testifies that the 25-year mail-intercepting project did not uncover "a single illegal agent."

1982—An ACLU report accuses the Reagan administration of "ideological opposition to civil liberties ... the erosion of the Bill of Rights seems to be a primary goal."

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another civil disobedience action, said that he would again try to base his case on international law.

STRATEGIC TALKS: Some activists have long complained that the antinuclear movement is too decentralized for its own good, that efforts are duplicated and long-range planning is insufficient. The movement is usually too busy reacting to current events to chart far-reaching plans. In order to better coordinate efforts and to discuss strategy, representatives of many of the national movement groups, including Physicians for Social Responsibility, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, and the Freeze Campaign, have begun to meet regularly in Washington, D.C. The meetings are informal and occur every four to six weeks, according to Richard Healey, executive director of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. "This is not designed to be the leadership group of the movement," Healey says. "We think out loud about the overall picture and how we can work together and effectively."

MEETING THE KLAN: Last autumn at the launching of the *USS Henry Jackson*, the fifth U.S. Trident submarine, in Groton, Connecticut, two groups of demonstrators showed up at General Dynamics' Electric Boat Division. On one side of riot

police stood several hundred antinuclear protesters and on the other side were 14 robed counter-protesters who support the nuclear buildup. The latter were members of the Ku Klux Klan.

Though the Klan in Connecticut had not staged such counterdemonstrations in the past, it did hold an anticommunism rally in New Britain last June. "For the Klan, anticommunism means anti-freeze," says Steve Thornton of the Anti-Racism Coalition of Connecticut. And after the downing of Korean Flight 007, the Klan burned a Soviet flag on the steps of the Connecticut state capitol. The Klan, in its literature and through the speeches of its leaders, has often called for greater military spending, but before the Groton protest no Klan group had ever demonstrated specifically in support of nuclear weapons, according to groups that monitor Klan activity nationwide.

Thornton claims that there was a plus side to the Klan's presence at Electric Boat. Their counterprotest, he explains, motivated a working alliance of peace and anti-racism forces. "Now freeze supporters, some of whom don't always support other issues, are much more aware of the links between racism and militarism," Thornton notes. Also, Electric Boat workers, their families, officials, and dignitaries present for the launching had to walk by the Klan to enter the ceremony.

"They had to pass Klan signs that said, 'We support you,'" Thornton says. "That was a good experience for them."

CENTRAL AMERICA: The links between antinuclear and anti-intervention causes appear to be drawing closer in some segments of the peace movement. Antinuclear activists are now involved in the promotion of two open letters that make strong connections between the two issues. Addressed to the peace movement and signed by Randall Forsberg, freeze campaign coordinator Randy Kehler, and other leading activists, one letter urged peace activists to join in "actively resisting" U.S. policy in Central America. The letter noted that with present tensions in Central America what "is also at stake is the future of the disarmament movement." Another open letter, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and the Fellowship of Reconciliation and placed as an advertisement in several newspapers, lists antinuclear and anti-intervention proposals as planks of an integrated program.

And, to the surprise of many, the hot topic at a recent New York conference on U.S.-Soviet relations attended by movement funders was Nicaragua. Xabier Gorostiaga, director of Nicaragua's Institute for Economic and Social Research, told the crowd that a U.S. invasion of his



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country would magnify East-West tensions, and the best safeguard against this would be joint efforts between U.S. and Nicaraguan citizens.

MAKING THE INITIATIVES: Voters passed at least 10 different antinuclear referenda in November and only defeated one—the Cambridge, Massachusetts, Nuclear Free Zone proposal. In Philadelphia voters approved a Jobs with Peace resolution by about a three-to-one margin. The nonbinding resolution, which was endorsed by Philadelphia's winning mayoral candidate Wilson Goode, called for funneling tax dollars earmarked for the military into social programs. A similar resolution was approved in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, by 68 percent of the voters. The margin of victory in Pittsfield surprised Jobs with Peace organizers because General Electric is the single largest employer in the area, and its local plant produces ballistic missile guidance systems.

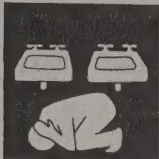
The binding Cambridge Nuclear Free Zone (NFZ) proposal, which lost by a three-to-two vote, met with heavy opposition from Charles Stark Draper Laboratory which receives over \$140 million in Defense Department contracts for its nuclear weapons work. The pro-Draper Citizens Against Research Bans spent several hundred thousand dollars on the

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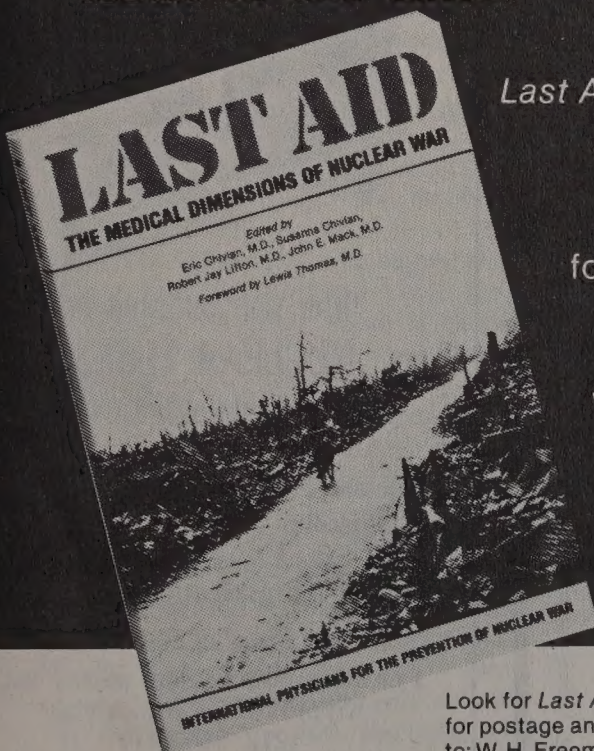
NO RESTROOMS FOR THE WEARY?: Mock civil defense posters are appearing in public restrooms in Northern California thanks to GENIE, a nuclear education group in Gualala, California, which produced the self-adhesive stick-ons. GENIE was inspired by a story in NUCLEAR TIMES about activists who embarked on a similar campaign (using a subway theme) which targeted BART trains in the Bay Area. The posters are available from GENIE (\$2 each, 8 for \$12) at 32830 Highway One, Gualala, CA 95445.

campaign—and won the support of the local Congressman, “Tip” O’Neill—while NFZ supporters only raised approximately \$25,000. A few days later the Madison, Wisconsin, city council moved to make Madison (a city without major

weapons contractors) a nuclear free zone.

In New Hampshire voters in Concord, the state capital, passed a nonbinding freeze resolution by more than 72 percent of the vote. Walter Mondale tried to help freeze organizers there—as well as his

“No group is as qualified to present the terrible facts as these physicians. . . . To ignore their passionate presentation is to turn our backs on the most urgent issue of our time.” —Walter Cronkite



Last Aid: The Medical Dimensions of Nuclear War is among the first books to present the medical consequences—both physical and psychological—of nuclear war. Written by members of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, *Last Aid* graphically demonstrates that medical professionals could not begin to cope with the overwhelming problems that would ensue in the aftermath of a nuclear holocaust. A reaction to the heads of government who speak rationally of a conflict that can have no rational basis, *Last Aid* is must reading for every intelligent, thinking human being.

Look for *Last Aid* at your bookstore, or send your name, address and a check for \$10.95 plus \$1.50 for postage and handling (California, New York & Utah residents please add appropriate sales tax) to: W. H. Freeman and Company, 4419 West 1980 South, Salt Lake City, UT 84104

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Award-winning staff: Cindy Milstein, Kippie Norris, Maria Margaronis, Renata Rizzo (left-to-right, top row); Cynthia Kling-Jones, Douglas Lavin, David Corn, Greg Mitchell, Corinna Gardner, Tracey Cohen (left-to-right). Missing: Jack Berkowitz.

own candidacy—by campaigning door-to-door for the resolution. Four towns in Connecticut (Tolland, Vernon, Ellington, and Rocky Hill) as well as two Ohio towns (Granville and Athens) also passed freeze resolutions. The pro-freeze vote in these six towns averaged 66 percent of the total and brought the tally of freeze referenda to 61 wins out of a total of 66 ballots since the first freeze referendum was passed in 1980.

OLIVE BRANCH EXTENDED: The magazine, the award citation reads, “is showing us that in our nuclear age, regular coverage of the peace movement, which

has yet to be established in any major magazine, is as inexhaustible as the standard beats.” The magazine (we’re happy to say) is *NUCLEAR TIMES*, and the award is the Olive Branch, presented recently to 10 magazines by two movement-related groups, the Editors’ Organizing Committee and The Writers’ and Publishers’ Alliance, which plan to make this an annual event. Among the other publications honored for “outstanding coverage” of the nuclear weapons issue are *The New Yorker*, *Foreign Policy*, *Scientific American*, *Vogue*, and *The Nation*. Several hundred guests attended the ceremony at the Essex House in New York

City, and award presenters included Jane Alexander, John Irving, Judd Hirsch, John Shea, and Judith Rossner.

WAR ALERT? During a November 30 meeting with government officials, journalists and others, Lawrence Eagleburger, undersecretary of state for political affairs, said that after the October 9 bombing in Burma which killed 17 South Korean officials, the United States put its forces on DEFCON-1 (the highest state of military alertness), according to a former top-level government official who attended the meeting. According to this source, Eagleburger said that after the bombing the United States raised its alert to DEFCON-1 (an extraordinary step) and requested that the Soviet Union insure that North Korea restrain its actions (while the United States did the same with South Korea).

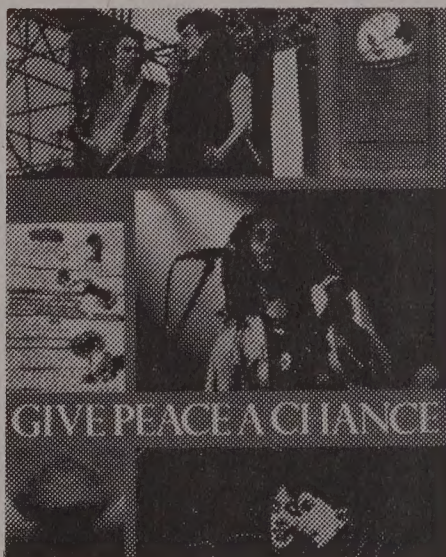
An aide to Eagleburger denies that he made any such statement but refuses to say what Eagleburger said pertaining to any alert. Contacted by *NUCLEAR TIMES*, others who attended the seminar conducted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace declined to talk about Eagleburger’s off-the-record remarks. (The Pentagon has a policy of not commenting on U.S. alertness.)

News accounts have noted that the commander of U.S. forces in Korea

Give Peace a Chance

A Catalog of the Exhibition at the Peace Museum, Chicago

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Give Peace a Chance

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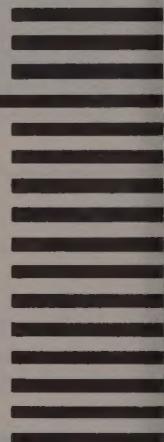
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raised their alert status one notch after the bombing—from DEFCON-4 to DEFCON-3. DEFCON-1 is the ultimate state of emergency; the next step higher is war. Might Eagleburger have meant to say that DEFCON was raised *by one*? Either Eagleburger didn't know what he was talking about, the source says, or the United States has become dangerously aggressive in using its alert status to send a signal to the Soviets. The source says that he has been told by a State Department official that the United States also raised its alert at the time of the recent deployment of Pershing 2 missiles in Europe.

SCIENTIFIC SCRUPLES: Fourteen thousand physicists from around the world have spoken out together against the arms race. They have signed a petition calling for "an agreement to halt the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons systems" and, in the meantime, a stop to all new deployments. The list of names includes 1500 Americans, 1000 Soviets, and scientists (including 22 Nobel Laureates) from 41 other countries.

The idea grew out of an informal conversation between a group of physicists working at a Geneva laboratory last year, and the signatures were collected on the international scientific grapevine. "Considering the complete lack of funding or organization," says physicist Nina Byers, the project's U.S. coordinator, "we have a phenomenal number of names." The petition has been presented to several heads of state and to the secretary and director general of the United Nations. The Center for Defense Information ran it as a full page ad in *The New York Times*, and hopes to publish it elsewhere. The White House, however, has sent the physicists' requests for a meeting with the President up a series of bureaucratic blind allies. "If we don't get an answer soon," says Robert Park, director of the American Physical Society, "I'll drop the petition through the mailbox myself."

Many of the physicists who signed the statement have been involved with nuclear weapons research; some of them still are. "Most of the people I knew in the weapons program were pacifists, because they knew what was involved," says Park, who worked on atomic weapons for 10 years. "But as long as the policy is to produce weapons—and I think the policy has to change—we may as well produce good ones." William Fowler, one of the petition's Nobel Laureates, bristles at any mention of a contradiction. "Now get this straight," he says. "I was involved in designing non-nuclear—*non-nuclear*—components for the atomic bomb."

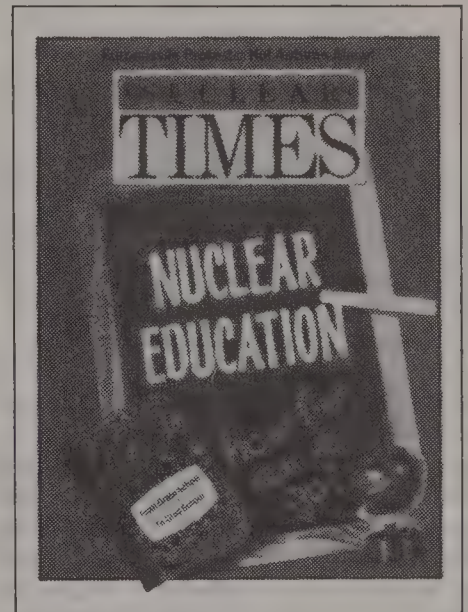
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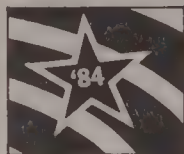
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What's In Store For '84?



Next month, when presidential candidates flock to Iowa for the kickoff of the 1984 primary season, they will be met by caucus participants who will not be there to support a candidate, but an issue. The Iowa freeze campaign, People Encouraging Arms Control Efforts (PEACE) and other antinuclear groups will try to have an activist in the Democratic and Republican wings of the state's 2495 caucuses. These Iowans want to pass a freeze resolution at every meeting in order to place the arms race at the center of public debate from the very start of the 1984 election season.

Like PEACE and the other Iowa groups, many antinuclear organizations across the country will attempt to make the arms race a key issue in this year's presidential and congressional elections. Projected activities run the gamut—from educating and registering voters to fund-raising for candidates to working within campaigns. And although some activists and groups warn against becoming embroiled in the electoral process, others have already mapped out ambitious programs to influence the outcome of the elections. "If the freeze and peace movement does not get involved in 1984," says Mike Mawby of SANE, "come January 1985 there will be no one to blame but ourselves."

ENDORSEMENTS AND EDUCATION

Those involved in electoral work note that the results of the 1984 elections could directly affect the future of certain weapons systems (and, by extension, the entire arms race). For instance, a handful of new House members who oppose the MX could help forge an anti-MX majority. (The missile survived its latest test vote in the House by only nine votes.) If the Republicans should lose control of the Senate, these activists say, then the freeze and other arms control proposals might receive a more sympathetic hearing from Senate committees (which would then be chaired by Democrats). And a president who is devoted to reducing nuclear weapons, they say, could conceivably spark a dramatic breakthrough. As Roger Molander, executive director of Ground Zero, puts it, "Like it or not every four years we, in effect, elect a king to reign over national security af-

fairs."

While some groups will endorse and support particular candidates, others, like Ground Zero, will concentrate on educating voters on nuclear issues. Perhaps the most far-reaching of the directly partisan national efforts is Freeze Voter '84. Constituted as a political action committee, Freeze Voter '84 was founded last

"If we don't get involved, come 1985 there'll be no one to blame but ourselves"

summer by leading freeze activists to serve as the electoral arm of the freeze movement. (It is legally separate from the National Freeze Campaign.) Freeze Voter '84 will try to organize a "freeze force" composed of individuals who pledge that the freeze will be the key factor in determining their vote, according to Chip Reynolds, a project organizer. From this base—which Reynolds hopes will number in the millions—Freeze Voter '84 wants to gather volunteers and contributors who will donate time and money to congressional campaigns. According to Reynolds, Freeze Voter '84 plans to back candidates in 30 to 40 House races and six to eight Senate contests. These, Reynolds says, will be candidates who support the freeze and boast good records on other weapons issues. Other PACs run by antinuclear activists, such as the Council for a Livable World and SANE PAC, will also participate in congressional—and possibly, presidential—campaigns. (See story, p. 12.)

Many antinuclear organizations—because of their nonprofit, tax-exempt status—are legally barred from participating directly in partisan political campaigns. But that hasn't stopped such organizations from seizing the election as an opportunity to educate the public on nuclear arms issues.

This effort spans the ideological spectrum of the movement. The Washington, D.C.-based Arms Control Association, one of the more mainstream groups, is putting questions on arms control issues to every presidential candidate, and

plans to relay their responses to its members. The direct-action oriented Women Against Military Madness is providing profiles of all the congressional candidates in its home state of Minnesota.

Ground Zero is concentrating on the presidential campaign by passing out questionnaires designed to help activists in early primary states pin down candidates on key arms issues—it has recently sent field organizers to Iowa and New Hampshire—and by pushing its new book, *Hope: Facing the Music on Nuclear War in the '84 Elections*. The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, together with groups such as Physicians for Social Responsibility and United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War (UCAM), is planning a sweeping educational campaign around the elections. Tentatively called Peace Summer, it will focus on both the nuclear arms race and U.S. intervention in Central America.

A PEACE BLOC?

While some groups plan to concentrate on education, others have drawn up plans that call for more direct participation in the political process (while stopping short of forming PACs). Citizens Against Nuclear War, which is based in Washington, D.C., and represents 54 membership organizations, has urged pro-freeze groups to run delegates for both the Democratic and Republican presidential nominating conventions. This effort might lead to the formation of "peace blocs" at the conventions which could push for freeze planks in the parties' platforms. CAN, as well as a number of other groups (especially those limited by their tax-exempt status), also plans to sponsor community forums that will teach political skills to organizers and voters. SANE expects to train local activists to raise funds, start PACs and canvass voters.

Other groups are focusing on specific issues. Greenpeace, for example, is concentrating on nuclear weapons testing. Organizers will raise the issue with voters in 10 presidential primary states and try to win support from the presidential candidates for a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Taking a hint perhaps from Jesse Jackson, many antinuclear groups, including Freeze Voter '84 and UCAM, are also stressing registration efforts. SAVE Our Future (Students Allied for Voter Edu-

Three Boston-based organizations—the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, the Union of Concerned Scientists and PSR—are forming a lobbying group, the Professionals Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control. They will educate voters in some 50 districts where congressional representatives hold key committee assignments.

GRASS ROOTS SPLIT

As national groups begin to operate in presidential and congressional campaigns, many smaller groups are readying themselves for similar efforts on state and local levels. "People at the grass roots are ripe and hungry for electoral expression," says Chip Reynolds of Freeze Voter '84. In Ohio, the state freeze campaign is ignoring the presidential campaign because, according to John Looney, the head of the campaign, the state Democratic organization "has capitulated to John Glenn." Instead, the group is considering forming its own PAC to work against pro-military members of Congress. Looney maintains that the freeze campaign can have an impact on Ohio congressional races. It boasts 110 groups in 60 of Ohio's 88 counties, and these groups are well-organized and ready to swing into action, Looney says.

For other grass-roots groups, though, participation in elections poses a problem. Within the Snake River Alliance in Idaho, for instance, there has been a debate over electoral work. "A lot of people feel that we don't have the time to work on elections," says Kerry Cooke of the Alliance. "They are more concerned with the new production reactor Senator James McClure wants to bring to Idaho."

(This reactor would produce tritium for nuclear weapons.) And there's another problem. "A lot of people assume that because we're an antinuclear group, we're all of the same political persuasion," Cooke explains. "But that's not true. We have Republicans and Democrats in our group. So if we were to take a position and back a Democrat, we'd be alienating some of our members."



Some groups have shied away from endorsements in both congressional and presidential races, fearing internal splits. And some local activists go a step further, charging that putting movement energy into the elections is simply a waste of time. As Erica Fox of the Livermore Action Group in Berkeley, California, notes, the arms race has historically received bipartisan support. "We remember that it was the Carter administration that was responsible for scheduling Euromissile deployment," she says.

"Electoral involvement is a drain on the peace movement"

Bill Christofferson, executive director of the Wisconsin-based Nukewatch, calls electoral involvement a "drain on the peace movement." Such work, he says, takes "time and energy away from the kind of ongoing, grass-roots education and organizing that can eventually bring a real change in our country's attitude about nuclear weapons. Political campaigns are seductive because they offer people a chance to totally immerse themselves in activity for a set period of time. But after Election Day has passed, the hard day-to-day work that will bring fun-

damental change will still be needed, no matter who won."

"There could be a real loss of movement momentum if people become discouraged because their candidates didn't win," warns Ed Hedemann of the War Resisters League in New York City. "And the reverse is just as bad. People may stop organizing because their candidates *did* win."

Advocates of electoral work often concede that the movement must be careful as it plots its 1984 strategy, particularly when it comes to the presidential race. But for the part of the movement that in recent years has concentrated on lobbying as the freeze resolution and specific weapons systems have come before Congress, such work is indispensable. "The antinuclear movement has no alternatives to rewarding friends and unseating enemies in Congress," explains Jerome Grossman, president of the Council for a Livable World. "Electoral activity is necessary to establish credibility and demonstrate the power of the movement at the grass roots."

In recent months the antinuclear movement has not fared so well in Congress. Electoral work might in some way reinvigorate the movement and give it a boost, similar to that provided by the freeze referendum campaigns of 1982. But it is not without risks. Some worry that involvement in presidential politics might force the movement close to a less-than-acceptable candidate. Others fear that the antinuclear issue might get lost in a mix of so-called progressive issues. Nevertheless, the prospect of electoral work has inspired many activists. And for those who are worried that the antinuclear movement might be losing steam, that is a heartening sign.

—Renata Rizzo, Doug Lavin and David Corn

SENATE RACE IN WASHINGTON

A Test Of Things To Come



For antinuclear weapons groups with plans for the 1984 elections, Representative Mike Lowry's vigorous campaign in the state of Washington for the U.S. Senate seat held by anti-freeze Republican Daniel Evans was a revealing and valuable test run.

Lowry, with support from many local and national antinuclear organizations, had won an upset victory over Seattle Mayor Charles Royer in the Democratic primary, but was rated an underdog in his bid to unseat Evans, a popular former governor who had been appointed to fill the Senate seat left vacant by the death of Henry Jackson.

And so it was no surprise when Evans won handily on November 8 with 56 percent of the vote. Frank Fahrenkopf, chairman of the Republican National Committee, boasted that the Evans victory, which preserved the GOP's 55-45 margin in the Senate, was significant because it was the only 1983 election that had any real bearing on the upcoming presidential and congressional races. And some media commentators sug-

gested that Lowry's loss exposed the inability of liberal Democratic coalitions to deliver elections when faced by an attractive Republican candidate. But those who worked on the Lowry campaign see it differently.

Both the local peace community in Washington and national antinuclear groups played an "extremely important" role in the campaign, Lowry said in an interview with NUCLEAR TIMES following the election. About 50 percent of the campaign volunteers came from the peace constituency, according to estimates from within the campaign. Freeze groups throughout the state supported Lowry. And the Council for a Livable World, SANE's affiliated political action committee, and Freeze Voter '84 all offered support. The Council raised over \$45,000 for Lowry, making it the second largest fund-raiser for the campaign. Only the Democratic Senate Campaign gave more.

For antinuclear activists in Washington, Lowry was a natural candidate to back. He speaks out strongly against the arms race and supports the freeze. He opposes what he terms first-strike weap-

ons—the MX, Pershing 2 and D-5 (Trident II) missiles. He calls for cuts in the Reagan military budget. And he urges an end to U.S.-Soviet confrontations. Evans, in contrast, supports the build-down proposal, the MX missile and the B-1b bomber; he voted against the freeze during his term as interim senator.

Though the choice may have seemed obvious to some—"it was crystal clear," says Washington freeze activist Helena Knapp—antinuclear activists did not immediately rush to the Lowry campaign. When Betsy Taylor, a field organizer for Freeze Voter '84, a PAC organized by leading freeze activists, arrived in Washington prior to the election, she found that local organizers had not yet fully mobilized to support Lowry. "There is a long history within the movement of non-electoral activity," Taylor explains. "There is also the tendency of not seeing the national implications of local races." Her mandate was straightforward—persuade freeze and peace activists that this was a critical race and sign them up for the Lowry campaign.

Peter Deccy, co-director of SANE's national canvass, had a similar task. He was one of two organizers SANE PAC sent to Washington to urge its own membership to become involved in the Lowry campaign. Deccy also contacted other peace groups throughout the state, and SANE PAC contributed \$4000 to the

Running With The PACs



Before the 1984 campaigns are over, political action committees are expected to donate over \$100 million to various races. And a portion of that—a very small portion—will come from antinuclear PACs. Both national and local movement groups have set up PACs in order to provide direct support to challengers and incumbents who back arms control measures.

The Council for a Livable World and its affiliated Peace PAC hope to donate over \$500,000 in 1984 to the coffers of about a dozen senatorial candidates and 50 to 60 House candidates. The Council has already identified several beneficiaries. It will, for example, back Representative Tom Harkin's bid to unseat Roger Jepsen of Iowa and Representative Paul Simon's challenge against Senator Charles Percy of Illinois. It will also support Senator Carl Levin of Michigan, who has been

targeted by Republicans as a vulnerable liberal Democrat.

SANE PAC, which expects to donate about \$150,000 in cash and campaign services to roughly 50 Senate and House candidates, is still formulating its 1984 plans. But it has decided to back Harkin, as well as Representative Barbara Boxer of California and Bob Mrazek of New York, identified by SANE PAC as "peace advocates." SANE PAC also plans to participate in efforts to oust Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina and Representative Bill Chappell Jr., a Democratic member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee who, according to SANE PAC, "consistently blocks all attempts at arms restraint."

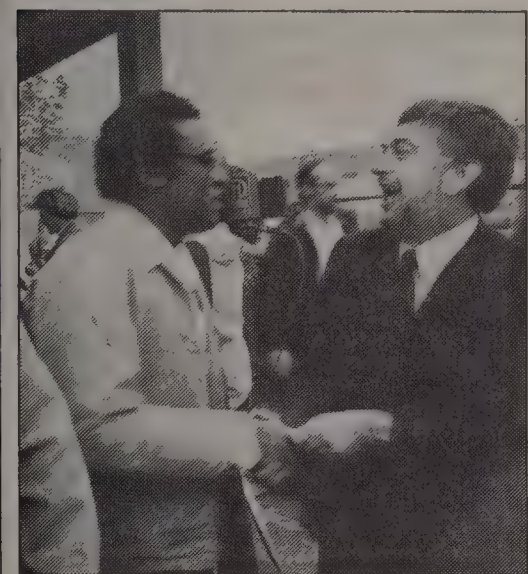
Other antinuclear PACs, such as Freeze Voter '84, are also gearing up to play political hardball. Drawing from its advisory board of House members, the U.S. Committee Against Nuclear War, founded by Representative Edward Markey, plans to prepare background papers and briefing material on the freeze for candidates and tailor them to particular races (as well as donate money). "This will help candidates frame the freeze for their own state or district," says John Packs, executive director of the Commit-

tee.

Some PACs not primarily antinuclear in focus will, nevertheless, use a candidate's stand on arms control as part of a litmus test to determine whom to fund. The National Committee for an Effective Congress, which expects to contribute \$700,000 in 1984, will look at a candidate's stand on the freeze, the MX missile and the B-1b bomber—along with other non-military issues—in deciding which campaigns to support. And when the Fund for a Democratic Majority, which was founded by Senator Edward Kennedy in 1981 to support progressive Democrats, makes its 1984 contributions, it will "reflect Kennedy's interest in the freeze," says Nancy Stimpfle, the Fund's deputy director. Friends of the Earth PAC will also look at arms control records in deciding where to contribute. FOE PAC director Bob Chlopak, who spends much of his time on the road training antinuclear activists and environmentalists to work in campaigns, notes that the involvement of PACs and activists in the 1984 elections will have an "explosive" effect. "The arms control movement," he predicts, "will be in enough races in enough places to have national implications."

—D.C.

campaign. In his conversations with activists, Deccy met with "a lot of distrust in general about elections and politicians." But Lowry, he adds, made arms control issues a centerpiece of his campaign and actively promoted his stands. By the time of the October 11 primary, local SANE organizers had become Lowry campaign coordinators in some counties, and peace activists were leafletting, stuffing envelopes and staffing phone banks for Lowry. The peace constituency came to be one of the critical components of the progressive coalition—which included labor, environmentalists, blacks and women—that helped Lowry win his primary upset.



Lowry (r.) campaigning at Boeing

The Lowry coalition was an effective one—up to a point, and that point was the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Prior to the primary, Evans led Lowry by 30 percentage points. As the election approached, Lowry was able to cut Evans' lead to only a few points, according to statewide polls. Then came Grenada. Lowry questioned Reagan's military move, while Evans endorsed it—and regained a comfortable lead. "The public in Washington was like the rest of the U.S. public," says Taylor, with a sigh.

"To the extent that Lowry was viable, it was largely on the strength of his consistent and clear stands on foreign policy and the arms race," notes reporter Dick Clever, who covered the Lowry campaign for *The Seattle Times*. "I don't think there was anyone in the state who didn't know where he stood." The U.S. invasion pulled the rug out from under Lowry, but those who supported Lowry, Clever adds, have no reasons for being glum. "Lowry," he observes, "shouldn't have had a chance in hell."

What happened in the Lowry race shows the potential for nuclear and peace issues to be overwhelmed by dramatic, unforeseen events during a campaign. The question remains: Can an uncompro-

missing peace candidate mount a successful statewide campaign? And can it be done in an area like Washington that hosts a number of large military projects? Lowry, whose home district includes the headquarters of Boeing (which holds contracts on some of the weapons Lowry opposes), has only one piece of advice to other candidates in this position: "The only thing to do is to stand for what you believe in and work like hell. You just campaign on the issues." A candidate must count on the fact, he adds, that "the public is perceptive enough." Lowry, however, cannot say that was true this time around in Washington.

But peace activists are quick to point out the good news provided by Lowry's campaign. That the Council for a Livable World could raise a lot of financial support for Lowry in only a few weeks bodes well for peace candidates in 1984, says the Council's Katherine Magraw. Deccy notes that despite Evans' nearly two-to-one advantage in spending, "We could run a credible peace candidate. The lesson of the primary should not be forgotten—the peace community had a definite effect. Royer was not able to put together an organization as large as Lowry's."

But both Taylor and Knapp warn that unless activists become involved in the early stages of campaigns, they might not produce large impacts. And Taylor notes that activists have to decide carefully how visible to be. "Not every race should be a freeze referendum," she says. "Some incumbents who are our friends have to attract the center or conservative vote. We won't help them by pushing them farther." Taylor also predicts it will be difficult to mobilize activists behind candidates who have not taken strong, consistent stands on arms issues. Lowry, she points out, "has a 100 percent rating from every peace and environmentalist group, but still peace activists were not initially enthusiastic. We shouldn't underestimate the history of anti-electoral sentiment."

After witnessing the Lowry-Evans race, Knapp, a member of the board of Freeze Voter '84, says she is more optimistic that freeze and peace activists will become involved in the 1984 elections. But she is afraid that the electorate may not make arms control a high priority. As Knapp puts it, "People don't vote arms control." The United States might follow the examples of Great Britain and West Germany, she says, where conservative governments favoring Euromissile deployment were elected, despite heavy public opposition to the missiles. "We have less than a year to get people to change their minds and say they will really vote arms control," Knapp adds. "It's a tough job."

—David Corn

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To Campaign Or Not To Campaign

"The final big test"

★ It is critical for freeze supporters and other members of the peace and antinuclear movements to become actively involved in efforts to influence the 1984 elections. Though large, our movement has not succeeded in changing the minds of current politicians. To succeed, we must now take the final step in the democratic process and change the politicians.

We must help to elect a president who will support a halt in the nuclear arms race. Equally important, we must try to win a pro-arms-control majority in the Senate. The Senate ratifies treaties and shares with the House in determining budget appropriations. The current anti-arms-control Senate is reinforcing Reagan's policies and would weaken initiatives of a new president. We must also strengthen support for the freeze in the House. This means focusing on close House and Senate races where we can help preserve the seats of strong freeze supporters and oust anti-freeze members.

By influencing the outcome of a number of House and Senate races and some important presidential primaries, we can increase the number of congressmen who are sincerely committed to ending the nuclear arms race; strengthen recognition of this important goal (and commitment to it) on the part of all presidential and congressional candidates; and demonstrate to the newly elected Congress and administration, coming into power in January 1985, that their record on arms control will be followed closely (and will have an impact on their reelection prospects).

Some activists are reluctant to become involved in electoral politics because they are uncertain where their efforts can be most effective, because they believe that their efforts will not have any significant effect, or because they are reluctant to get involved in races where their favorite candidate is not the likely winner (or where their reactions to a pro-freeze candidate are lukewarm). Freeze Voter '84 will put these concerns to rest. Freeze Voter '84, in consultation with local groups, will target House and Senate races and presidential primaries where the work of large numbers of individuals clearly *can* make a difference.

I believe that the 1984 elections will probably represent the final big test for the freeze movement. If everyone in the United States who actively supports the freeze works in a coordinated, focused way in this election, we can elect a government that *will* propose a freeze to the Soviet Union and, further, work to bring about a quick, bilateral moratorium to be followed by the more detailed negotiations. Rarely have the issues in an election been more clear. It is a golden opportunity to take the first major step in human history toward reversing the growth of armaments. It is an unparalleled opportunity to begin to reduce the risk of nuclear war.

—Randall Forsberg

Randall Forsberg is the executive director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies and president of Freeze Voter '84.

"Widen the Gender Gap"

★ As a recent *New York Times* poll has shown, there is as much as a 15 percent gap between women and men on the issue of reelecting the President. The women don't want to give him a second term, and they are the majority of the voters in the United States. The gender gap is especially wide on issues of war and peace. So women can make the *decisive* difference in preventing a nuclear war by electing a president and a congress whose first priority is multilateral nuclear disarmament.

We can't afford to take the pressure off for a minute during the coming year. The politicians must get the message that their political futures depend on their commitment to halting the nuclear arms race, and that no other issue has a fraction of the importance.

—Helen Caldicott

Dr. Helen Caldicott is president emerita of Physicians for Social Responsibility.

"Dangerous illusions"

★ The 1984 presidential election presents many more dangers than opportunities for the movements against nuclear weapons, intervention, and the Cold War. We have little to hope from the best of outcomes and much to fear from any winner.

The history of the 20th century, from Woodrow Wilson and World War I to Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam, is one of Democratic presidents declaring themselves "peace candidates" and then taking the United States to war. Reagan's military juggernaut was launched by the



Democrat Carter, and as it rolls over four or five fronts across the globe, most of the Democrats in this Congress have their eyes glued to the opinion polls. What can we expect in the next few years from the Democrats, given their spineless performance in response to the Grenada invasion, their rotten compromise on the War Powers Act in Lebanon, and their hypocrisy in supporting a watered-down freeze and then voting through the MX and the largest military budget in all of history?

None of the current crop of Democratic contenders offers a satisfying alternative to Reagan. None has shown the tiniest inkling that he would push for the deep structural changes necessary for disarming and dismantling the American empire and the Cold War blocs. Applying much less stringent standards, every one of them who's had the chance has voted for military appropriations, nuclear weapons, or conventional buildups. Jesse Jackson, who has no voting record to examine because he's not yet held public office, is taking the right positions on many of our issues. But his strategy of brokering the votes of the "rainbow coalition" for concessions from whomever wins the Democratic nomination is only as strong as the integrity of the Democratic Party. The day after the election, the new Democratic president could start the sellout.

It's true that Ronald Reagan is the greater of most evils, and that it's easier to pressure the Democrats than the Republicans. Recognizing this, I still believe it would be tragedy and travesty to

allow the movements against militarism to be swallowed or sidetracked by the 1984 elections, to let the election circus set the agenda for our movement. Instead, let's use the election brouhaha to expose the Democrats as well as the Republicans and to educate Americans about the limits of social change through established channels. Instead of deploying the movement's energies in the service of the lesser of two evils, let's use our precious resources to develop an opposition that is both broader in its constituency and deeper in its analysis than anything that currently exists.

The American disarmament and anti-intervention movements are already gratifyingly diverse. Within them will be some who feel compelled to work for one or another of the candidates. We must ask them not to let their desperate desire to find an alternative to Reagan translate into a free ride for the Democrats, and not to let the logic of campaigning make them entertain or recommend illusions about who rules America and for what ends.

—Marcy Darnovsky

Marcy Darnovsky is an editor of It's About Times, newspaper of the Abalone Alliance in Oakland, California.

"Moderates, if we must"

★ If antinuclear groups are serious about wanting to influence congressional elections they must make hard-nosed decisions about whom to support. Local groups have the toughest time when faced with two unappealing candidates. But usually one candidate is a little better on the issues and at least educable. The elections of 1984 are too important for antinuclear activists to sit out. Groups need to consider which candidate supports the widest range of arms control issues and stands a reasonable chance of winning. Such candidates deserve unwavering support. By helping them, groups stand a better chance of in-



fluencing them when important legislation comes up in Congress. It is better to support moderates than to sit it out and watch them lose to conservatives.

Any member of Congress who voted for the freeze and against all the crippling amendments and who voted against MX

missile procurement should be supported for reelection by local groups regardless of their stand on other arms control issues. Such members should be urged to support stiffer freeze measures and to oppose all first-strike weapons, but this should not be a prerequisite for giving them support. In other races challengers for a seat must meet the same minimal requirements of freeze support and MX opposition, but should also support other arms control positions if pressed.

Our goal must be to elect a Congress more responsive to our demands. Politicians will be more responsive only when they are forced to take us seriously. They must see that we are capable of turning out an army of volunteers ready to distribute flyers, staff phone banks, ring doorbells, and get out the vote. We must show that we are in fact capable of making the difference between winning and losing.

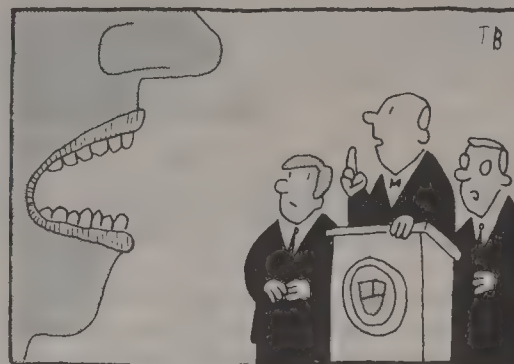
—Michael Mawby

Michael Mawby is legislative director of SANE and director of SANE PAC.

"Beyond Election Day"

★ The real question is, how can the peace movement affect the political climate of 1984? There is no peace candidate, none serious about disarmament. The media are manipulated and, in the case of the Grenada invasion, censored outright. The arms industries buy candidates and votes. Therefore, the best way for the peace movement to confront militarism is by using the power of nonviolent resistance. A direct-action campaign with wide support from religious bodies and mainstream peace groups (who have seen defeat after defeat in the Congress, and who understand the direct and immediate danger of first-strike deployments now underway), could tip the balance. Such a campaign could create a long-term shift, one that would carry beyond Election Day.

This campaign would include, but not be limited to, tax resistance and other civil disobedience. The grass-roots activities of freeze and jobs with peace campaigns would be reinforced and extended. The long-term goals—the abolition of war and weapons—and immediate and intermediate steps toward those goals would be articulated as candidates are asked to pledge to support nonviolent resistance campaigns, to vote for an immediate freeze, to vote against funds for first-strike weapons, and to support unilateral initiatives toward disarmament. Candidates would know that demands would not be satisfied with mere promises, and that constituents had discovered their power to withdraw their support and cooperation from the business-as-usual that promotes the illusion



of military security. Such a campaign would establish a political imperative for professional politicians to act. It would also begin to establish the habit of democratic self-government.

—Molly Rush

Molly Rush is director of the Thomas Merton Center in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

"Reagan holds the key"

★ Peace movement posters often ask the question: "What if they gave a war and nobody came?" Maybe they keep "giving wars" because they keep giving elections and not enough people come. Ballots can stop bullets, but only if enough people who demand peaceful resolutions of conflict register and vote. Unfortunately, in the last presidential election, only about two-thirds of the citizens eligible to vote bothered to register and less than 60 percent marched to the polls to vote. Electoral participation is a citizen responsibility. Just as arms control is a nonpartisan issue, so is voter registration.

As a Republican, however, I must confess that my party ignores the concerns of the public on arms control at its peril. Ronald Reagan, as the chief executive of our nation, holds the fate of the Republican Party as well as the Republic in his hands. And people know it. Political pundits should not assume that people will necessarily vote Democratic, that they will prefer people like Walter Mondale or John Glenn over Ronald Reagan. As president, Reagan still holds the key to arms control progress. He has the capacity not only to shift rhetoric, but to shift the gears of government policy. Like Nixon going to China, Reagan can go to Leningrad and sign an arms control treaty and test ban accord. Liberal Democrats could be left in the breach.

Americans will reward with their vote those candidates they consider most able to diminish the risk of war—Republican or Democrat.

—Jim Leach

Jim Leach is a Republican congressman from Iowa and chairman of the Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus in Congress.

GOING BEYOND CONVENTION

Freeze Sets New Strategy

In early December when the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign convened in St. Louis for its fourth annual convention, there were plenty of reasons for the delegates to feel frustrated, ranging from deployment of the Euromissiles to the decline in U.S.-Soviet relations. "We've gone from some very high expectations to some sobering realities," said national coordinator Randy Kehler, in his opening address. "It hasn't been very fun this fall."

But surprisingly, the frustration was overwhelmed by enthusiasm about the prospect of involvement in the 1984 elections. Rather than bemoan recent developments, the 600 delegates composed an ambitious 1984 strategy that marks some changes for the Freeze Campaign.

At a rally sponsored by Freeze Voter '84, held in a ballroom decorated with red, white and blue balloons, the delegates cheered loudly when Bill Curry, executive director of Freeze Voter '84, called for a "congressional build-down"—trading two anti-freeze members of Congress for every pro-freeze member elected. That the delegates so embraced the plans of Freeze Voter '84 (see story, p. 10) was somewhat surprising. At the previous national convention, held in February, there was a debate about the extent to which the freeze movement should become involved in elections. The 1984 conference saw virtual unanimity on the elections issue.

Most of the local freeze representatives spoke about backing candidates in congressional races, rather than actively supporting a presidential candidate. But Senator Alan Cranston paid a call to the convention in a bid to pull the freeze movement squarely behind his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Cranston drew a standing ovation at the convention when he pledged that if elected, he would—on January 20, 1985—institute a freeze on the testing and deployment of nuclear weapons that would continue as long as the Soviets display parallel restraint. The testing and deployment provisions of the freeze, he noted, do not require negotiations. He also announced that on that same day he would invite the Soviet Union to negotiate the earliest possible freeze on the production of nuclear weapons. "I submit I am the candidate you should support," Cranston told the delegates. "If I fail to

get support, you may not get a candidate like this again."

Although Cranston was warmly received, his speech did not spark talk of swinging the freeze movement behind him. (Freeze Voter '84 plans to endorse a presidential candidate only if a strong consensus develops.) But Cranston's speech did reflect the thinking behind the new legislative strategy adopted by the convention. Having passed a House resolution calling for the President to negotiate a freeze, the Freeze Campaign will now press Congress to enact parts of a comprehensive freeze by suspending funds for the testing of nuclear warheads and for the testing and deployment of ballistic missiles (provided the Soviet Union halts similar activities). This strategy decision provoked some complaints that the Campaign was pulling back from its call for a comprehensive freeze. But proponents argued that calling on Congress to

hindered if the Campaign's image became too closely associated with anti-interventionism. Others, including members of the Third World caucus, argued that without such a policy the Campaign risks losing support from some constituencies. (That morning at a press conference after the first U.S. bombing on Syrian positions, Kehler called for an immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Lebanon and their replacement with a United Nations peacekeeping force. When informed of Kehler's move, most of the conference applauded.)

The Campaign also called for the withdrawal of the Euromissiles, the suspension of weapon programs that stimulate the arms race (such as the MX and Trident II missiles and ABM and antisatellite weapons), a U.S. declaration of no first use of nuclear weapons, negotiation of a comprehensive test ban, and support for a European call for a worldwide freeze on the production of nuclear weapons and for the withdrawal of all nuclear weapons from foreign territory. The delegates also approved plans for a computerized lobby network, "Freeze Fridays" (holding local actions on the first Friday



Freeze author Randall Forsberg and Cranston addressed the delegates

turn off the funding for those aspects of the arms race that are incontrovertibly verifiable ups the ante, and marks a significant first step toward a freeze.

But it will not be easily accomplished. This strategy would have to be linked with the defense authorization process, which should culminate with a vote in late May or June. That gives the Freeze Campaign only a few months to convince Congress to accept a new concept. Several Capitol Hill disarmament lobbyists say that it might not be possible or wise to try for a vote in so short a time.

Other aspects of the Campaign's strategy also provoked disagreements. A resolution calling for the United States and the Soviet Union to halt direct military intervention was passed (instead of a move that only declared "deep concern with intervention"). The debate revealed some of the strains within the Campaign, as organizers from more conservative areas complained that their work would be

of each month), a national "Day of Concern" (to be held October 5), and the establishment of a direct-action task force. And there was the traditional talk of outreach to new constituencies. But there was some action as well, when about 150 delegates joined striking Greyhound workers on a nearby picket line for a spontaneous demonstration in the rain.

At the previous conference, many delegates displayed a concern for keeping the Campaign narrow and free of charges of unilateralism. For instance, straightforward opposition to the MX never became a plank in the platform. But this convention brought some changes in the Campaign's overall scope, changes that appeared to have developed naturally. And despite recent setbacks, the Campaign still seems vital. "People are really ready to go full-speed ahead," says Kehler. "They have the bit in their teeth." Once again, expectations are high.

—David Corn

Round-Up

Michigan Group Faces Conspiracy Charges

■ Armed with revolvers and search warrants, two Oakland County Sheriff's detectives entered St. Vincent De Paul Roman Catholic Church in Pontiac, Michigan, on December 1, surprising Covenant for Peace activists headquartered there. The detectives' purpose was to gather evidence—films, photographs, mailing lists—to back up conspiracy charges against local peace activists. They had been aided in their preparations for the raid by at least four undercover agents, the sheriff's department concedes. Sister Elizabeth Walters and the Reverend Peter Dougherty, Covenant organizers, along with 51 others—including a visitor from the Greenham Common peace camp—were charged with conspiring to commit a misdemeanor, which can lead to a year's imprisonment.

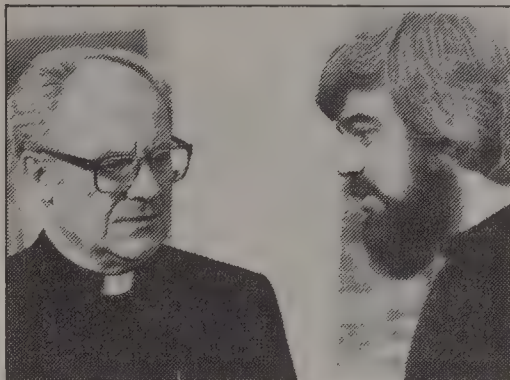
The raid on the church, and the use of undercover agents, were ominous new twists in the year-long skirmish between protesters and law enforcement officials in Michigan (and something new for the antinuclear weapons movement as well). Since January 1983 Covenant for Peace, a small group of religious-minded activists, and its supporters have been picketing and leafleting outside the Williams International plant in Walled Lake, which makes cruise missile engines. In May an Oakland County Circuit Court injunction forbade more disruptive activities, such as trespassing; on August 9 four protesters were sentenced to 30 days in jail for defying that order. When Covenant for Peace organized "A Week of Witness and Resistance to Halt Cruise Missile Production," from November 28 to December 3, they fully expected to be arrested.

And, indeed, arrests on trespassing and blockading charges were made throughout the week, which began with a Sunday prayer service attended by some 1500 people. Acting on an order to show cause filed by Williams International, the Oakland Circuit Court charged more than 50 activists with violating the injunction—a move which did not surprise the defendants. What was unexpected, however, were the conspiracy charges, the use of undercover agents, and the raid on the church. (Covenant members suspect that the FBI has been keeping a close watch on them too.) Some peace activists face 18 different counts in all—

from littering to conspiracy—and could be sentenced to three years in jail.

Despite the imprisonment of many group members, Covenant for Peace's Mary Girard says that the group's weekly leafleting and picketing will continue.

—Douglas Lavin



Hunthausen (l.), subject of probe, meets with Sojourners' Jim Wallis

"Peace Bishops" Survive Church Probe

■ That two of the U.S. Catholic Church's most prominent "peace bishops" underwent Vatican-mandated investigations last year, and have come out of them with their antinuclear stances unquestioned and implicitly upheld, says much about the credence nuclear opposition has gained in the U.S. and world churches.

Critics for several years have pelted Rome with complaints against Bishop Walter Sullivan of Richmond, Virginia, and Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle. Both dioceses encompass large military installations and rely on defense-related jobs; both bishops are sturdy critics of the U.S. nuclear defense and weapons buildup. However, the complaints against each to Rome rarely have cited their peace views. That, says Sullivan, is because "it's very hard to go af-

ter the church's position on peace. So you use other things." Letters to Rome alleged abuses of church rules on priests' garb and women's participation in masses, for example. In June, two other U.S. bishops were asked to investigate the charges: Archbishop John May was assigned Sullivan, and Archbishop James Hickey was assigned Hunthausen.

The Richmond investigation, in June, was conducted—as are most such "apostolic visitations"—with discretion bordering on secrecy. The Seattle probe was announced and conducted more openly, in November. What May and Hickey learned they told only to Rome, in written reports. However, both investigating bishops insisted publicly on one thing: that they were sent to scrutinize not Sullivan's and Hunthausen's peace stances, but only alleged ecclesial irregularities (among them, reports of a Richmond priest saying mass in a Superman suit, and of a Seattle church funeral made festive with a clown and balloons). The insistence that the bishops' peace activism was not under Roman fire has had the effect of making that activism almost unassailable.

Since the probe, Sullivan says, he has felt "a lot of support throughout the diocese," and from the Vatican. The Seattle probe drew an overwhelming show of support for Hunthausen. Catholics favoring the Archbishop met Hickey at the airport with pro-Hunthausen signs and rained approving letters on the archdiocesan offices. Nearly every priest in the diocese signed a petition of endorsement. After the six-day investigation Hickey said he saw "great progress" in the church under Hunthausen and would be "very, very surprised" if the Vatican were to order the bishop to make changes.

The Vatican may have said, or may yet have, a harsh word or two to say to the bishops about some parochial misstep,

Wrap-Up

Residents of more than 800 towns and cities in the United States sent packages, including material describing their communities, to cities in the Soviet Union in late November as part of the **Pairing Project's** effort to establish good will and personal contacts with Soviet citizens On December 2 and 3 demonstrations were held at more than 80 sites in the United States and Canada protesting nuclear missile production and testing. One of the protests, in Calgary, Alberta (Canada), called attention to the first test-flight of U.S. cruise missiles in that region in January A significant **new CIA report** to Congress indicates that, contrary to Reagan administration claims, the Soviets "did not field weapons as rapidly after 1976 as before." The report on the relatively slow growth of Soviet defense spending (2 percent a year) "has profound significance that has not yet penetrated policy circles," **Senator William Proxmire** notes **The Internal Revenue Service** on November 30 placed a lien on the salary of Patrick Coy, campus minister at St. Louis University, who had refused to pay 50 percent of his federal taxes in protest of U.S. militarism Four people, including the Reverend Carl Kabat, a member of the **Plowshares 8**, slipped into a U.S. Army base in **West Germany** on December 4 and damaged a tractor used to transport Pershing 2 missiles and were arrested **Evangelicals for Social Action**, which has 4000 members, is initiating a **Peace Parish** disarmament program in communities across the country. A recent **Gallup Poll** showed, surprisingly, that 60 percent of evangelicals nationwide support the freeze.

sources say. But what counts more is what Rome apparently will not say—that is, any word against two of the strongest antinuclear voices in the U.S. Catholic hierarchy. —Patty Edmonds

"Day After" Aftermath: Movement Recruits

■ One hundred million people watched the obliteration of Kansas City on November 20, making *The Day After* one of the highest-rated television programs ever. ABC was thrilled, and the film's sponsors were relieved when Jerry Falwell dropped his boycott threat. The movie opened to huge audiences in dozens of theaters in Denmark and West Germany. On December 10 it was aired over British television, and it will be shown in over 30 countries this year.

But what does this landmark media event mean for the antinuclear movement in America?

Recruits, for one thing. Although groups will be compiling data for months, some encouraging results are already discernable. Wendy Roberts, director of The Day Before Project, estimates that at least half of the 25,000 Americans who took part in 500 "gatherings" had not been previously involved in antinuclear activities. Most of the groups are con-

ducting follow-up meetings, and a national network of support groups for Day Before participants is being formed. Because they were each given local antinuclear contacts and specific ideas for action, most participants will join the movement, Roberts predicts.

The much-publicized (to the tune of \$300,000) 800-NUCLEAR hot line attracted 70,000 callers who pledged \$100,000 during the campaign's first week alone. (One-third of the calls, however, were cranks.) Callers were sent a packet of antinuclear resource listings. The roster of names collected through the 800 number will be available to any antinuclear group, which can then contact people in its area.

A Union of Concerned Scientists' newspaper ad drew nearly 1000 responses but only between \$9,000-\$10,000 in pledges. And the Center for Defense Information's television commercial, shown in seven cities (stations in six other cities where the ad was booked refused to run it) netted 5000 calls—and \$23,000. Physicians for Social Responsibility concentrated on a grass-roots media blitz that has garnered a "big response on the local level," according to the group's associate director, Abram Claude. PSR chapters are reporting increased requests for specific courses of action, and many calls and letters from

people eager to learn the basics about the nuclear arms race.

Groups that did not conduct strong media campaigns, however, were hardly beating back frantic crowds of would-be activists. Mike Jendrzeczyk with the Fellowship of Reconciliation speaks for many organizers when he describes his office as "strangely silent" after November 20. But while it is obvious that *The Day After* did not prompt an immediate public outcry over Euromissile deployment—neither the White House switchboard, local television stations, nor congressional offices were bombarded with calls—the consensus within the antinuclear movement is that the country experienced a rite of passage on November 20, whose significance can only be determined over time. "It's cut into the culture in a way that nothing else could," says Theo Brown of Ground Zero. Indeed, in a recent campaign tour of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, presidential hopeful Walter Mondale was surprised to find that the issue that seemed to concern voters most was nuclear war, and he said this might have been caused by *The Day After*. But as Wendy Roberts points out, the movement's real work is just beginning. "Now everyone agrees that nuclear war is horrendous," she says. "But how are we going to stop it from happening?" —Renata Rizzo

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BY FRED KAPLAN

MX In Doubt, Budget Way Out

The 99th Congress is about to open session, and the prospectus on the defense budget is more vague and indecisive than it has been in years.

And why not? Think back to a year ago, when the brashly promising 98th Congress was about to pound the opening gavel: a batch of new liberal Democrats; the mandate of nuclear freeze referenda passing in 35 states, counties and cities; heightened public consciousness on nuclear war; and a good chance, so it seemed, of killing the MX missile.

What happened? Of all the controversial weapons programs, only a new production facility for manufacturing nerve gas was chopped out of the budget—not insignificant but not the end of that fight by a long shot, and much less than what had been expected in any case.

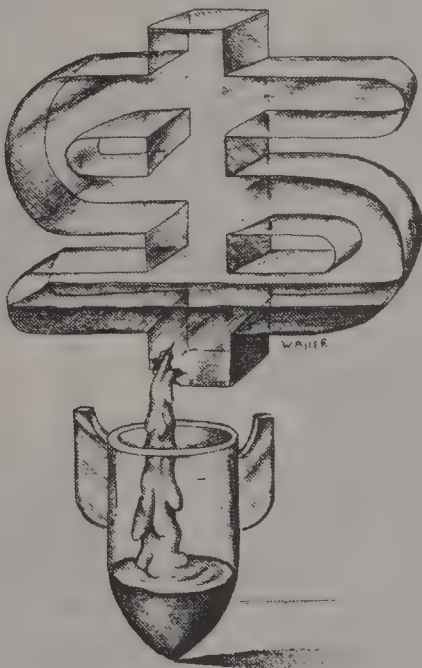
Still, toward the end of 1983, a few glittering rays broke through. Not least was the November vote on defense appropriations in the House, in which an amendment to kill MX production money lost by a mere nine votes. This slim margin was nothing less than remarkable. A similar motion, offered last May, lost by 53 votes; another, last July, by 13. After the Korean Air Lines incident, one would have expected that, if anything, the margin in the latest MX vote would have widened again. Instead, the anti-MX forces picked up several allies.

The vote, however narrow the margin, did approve money for actual production of MX missiles—21 of them. Once a weapon moves into this phase, it's usually impossible to stop: Contracts are awarded in congressional districts all over the country, meaning more revenue and jobs, meaning broader and stronger political pressure to support the weapon.

However, things could conceivably go differently for the MX. Contracts are not yet spread out. Furthermore, two of the four largest contracts will go to vehemently anti-MX districts: Representative Edward Markey's in Massachusetts (Avco, which makes the MX reentry vehicles) and Representative Patricia Schroeder's in Colorado (Martin Marietta, which handles the missile's assembly and transport).

Moreover, the coalition that has pushed the MX over the top thus far is a shaky one, comprised of true-blue hawks on the one hand and a group of moderate

liberals on the other. This latter group has convinced a critical portion of the House that the MX is needed to give the President leverage over the Russians at the START negotiations.



But patience is running out in some congressional quarters. Markey says that right after the close November vote, two of the 10 leading supporters of the "compromise" approached him separately and said that if there were no progress in Geneva by the fiscal 1985 defense authorization vote next spring, they would switch their votes. In short, the MX story is not over.

* * *

Meanwhile, over at the Pentagon, the budgeteers are drifting along on their own fantasy islands. Recall that last year at about this time, the President asked for \$273.4 billion in total obligational authority for fiscal 1984. Later he revised this figure to \$268.5 billion. Over the year, Congress trimmed it further to \$249 billion.

Yet the Pentagon budgeteers are now planning on an FY85 budget on the order of \$322.5 billion. This would amount to 11 percent real growth if Reagan's original FY84 request had been left untouched—but it amounts to 23 percent real growth in the real world.

Congress ended up granting Reagan about 5 percent real growth for FY84. It is absolutely impossible that it will give him over 20 percent in FY85. Yet the

administration has planned its weapons programs—not just for next year but for the whole five-year plan—on this assumption.

Even from a hawkish point of view, this is irresponsible. Congress will be forced to cut around \$40 billion from the budget next year. Yet consider, Congress almost never eliminates weapons programs. Doing so would upset too many legislators' politico-economic interests. Therefore, to get the budget down, congressional staffs generally cut spare parts, fuel and other items in the "operations and maintenance" account. This means that the military ends up with roughly the weapons that it wants but not enough supplies or support equipment to use them in battle—or even, adequately, in training. In short, this actually weakens national defense.

There is an obvious solution, proposed by many analysts who have examined this problem: Get down to business and get rid of unnecessary or ineffective weapons systems. Again, Congress doesn't like to do this, but even some conservative members are beginning to realize that things may have to change soon.

In a recent interview, Senator Sam Nunn, reflecting on the horrendous mismatch between strategy, resources and budgets in the Reagan-Weinberger Pentagon, told me, "We're going to have a real crunch in the next two years . . . I think Congress has got to define a way to kill weapons systems."

There are several noteworthy aspects to this remark. First, Sam Nunn is an intelligent, thoughtful senator, but generally not the type who bucks the defense establishment too often, and absolutely not the type who goes after too many weapons systems. A main sponsor of the "build-down" proposal, Nunn has by and large been perceived as a Scoop Jackson Democrat on defense.

Second, because of this reputation, Nunn is very influential. When Sam Nunn is critical of the Pentagon, other senators—especially those who come from conservative districts or who might otherwise unthinkingly support the Pentagon—sit up and listen. Nunn is also the ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Committee. When Senator Nunn starts talking about the need to cut weapons systems, maybe we are on the verge of a new era. □

CRUISE MISSILE BASE

A Visit To The Nuclear Front

It's a crisp, beautiful autumn afternoon. The Rome Catholic High School football team is scrimmaging. On an adjacent field, the girls' soccer team runs through its drills. Behind the school, a small band of kids hangs out, trading gossip and cigarettes, when a loud roar falls from the sky.

It's a deep rumbling that seems to fill the sky and make the ground shake. But no one appears to notice, except two startled out-of-towners who stare up to watch a B-52 lumber over the school and the fall foliage and head off into the horizon. Football and soccer practices go on uninterrupted. So does the small talk. The 12-year-olds riding stingray bicycles through the school parking lot don't bother to look up. They are all only one-eighth of a mile from Griffiss Air Force Base, home of the 416th Bombardment Wing of the Strategic Air Command (SAC).

For 25 years, B-52 bombers have routinely roared above the city of Rome, population 50,000, located in upstate New York, about 100 miles east of Syracuse. And for a little more than a year, the 16 B-52s assigned to the 416th Bombardment Wing have been distinguished from those at most other Air Force bases. On December 16, 1982, the 416th became the first squadron to go operational with air-launched cruise missiles (ALCMs). Since then, only two other bases have received ALCMs—Wurtsmith Air Force Base in Michigan and Grand Forks Air Force Base in North Dakota—while three other bases have been designated to receive them in the next three years.

Equipping B-52s with cruise missiles, which carry nuclear warheads, is perhaps one of the most significant strategic shifts made by the Air Force in recent years. Previously, the aircraft carried up to 20 nuclear short-range attack missiles and four nuclear gravity bombs. With the cruise missile, a B-52 will now be able to launch a small, pilotless aircraft—with the explosive equivalence of 15 Hiroshima blasts—that boasts a range of 1500 miles, is supposedly highly accurate, and able to evade radar detection. And the B-52s at Griffiss have been modified so that they can each haul up to 12 of these missiles.

Though the introduction of ALCMs carries tremendous strategic implications, the deployment at Griffiss hasn't

brought about many changes at the base. As Colonel Walter Webb III, the base commander, puts it, "ALCMs do not change your life that much." Webb maintains that the cruise missile (which, arms controllers say, poses verification problems and represents an escalation in the arms race) simply enhances the deter-



Webb: "ALCMS do not change your life that much"

rent capability of the United States. The message is, even with the ALCMs, it's still business as usual at Griffiss Air Force Base.

THE RIGHT "BUFF"

Thirteen hundred base employees work directly with the cruise missiles. More than two-thirds of the employees are assigned to run the maintenance complex for the 16 B-52s and 14 KC-135 refueling planes. What the 416th spends most of its time doing is training pilots and missile loaders and maintaining the B-52s or, in airman's slang, the BUFFs.

BUFF stands for Big Ugly Fat Fellow. ("Or you can use another word instead of 'fellow,'" jokes one airman.) With its 185-foot wingspan and 160-foot-long

body, a B-52 is a behemoth of an airplane. While on the ground, its wings droop, and its fuselage wrinkles. But visitors are assured that everything straightens and tightens once the plane is in the air.

In recent years much has been made of the supposedly dilapidated condition of the B-52s, which were produced two to

three decades ago. Supporters of the B-1 bomber often say the new bomber is needed because the B-52s presently used are unreliable and unsafe. While the B-52s at Griffiss hardly look as if they just rolled off the assembly line, they do appear sturdy. "We have no worries about the plane," says base commander Webb. And Sergeant Jay Strobel, editor of the *Mohawk Flyer*, the unofficial base newspaper, notes that the B-52 has one of the best safety records of any aircraft. "Our pilots like them," he adds.

Toward the east side of Griffiss, which claims nearly

4000 acres of Rome, sit five BUFFs. Tucked under each wing is a pylon that holds up to six cruise missiles. The missiles are small—about 20 feet long—and painted a dull gray. They bear the signatures of both the U.S. Air Force and Boeing. Mounted on the pylon, the missile's wings fold under its body, and its tail fins collapse flat against the missile. (When launched, the missile is released from the pylon, its engine ignites, and its wings and fins pop out into position.)

These ALCM-equipped BUFFs are on alert, supposedly ready to fly in under 15 minutes. (SAC no longer practices airborne alert. When a B-52 is in routine flight now, Colonel Webb says, it is only on a training or testing mission and does not haul armed warheads.) Together, the

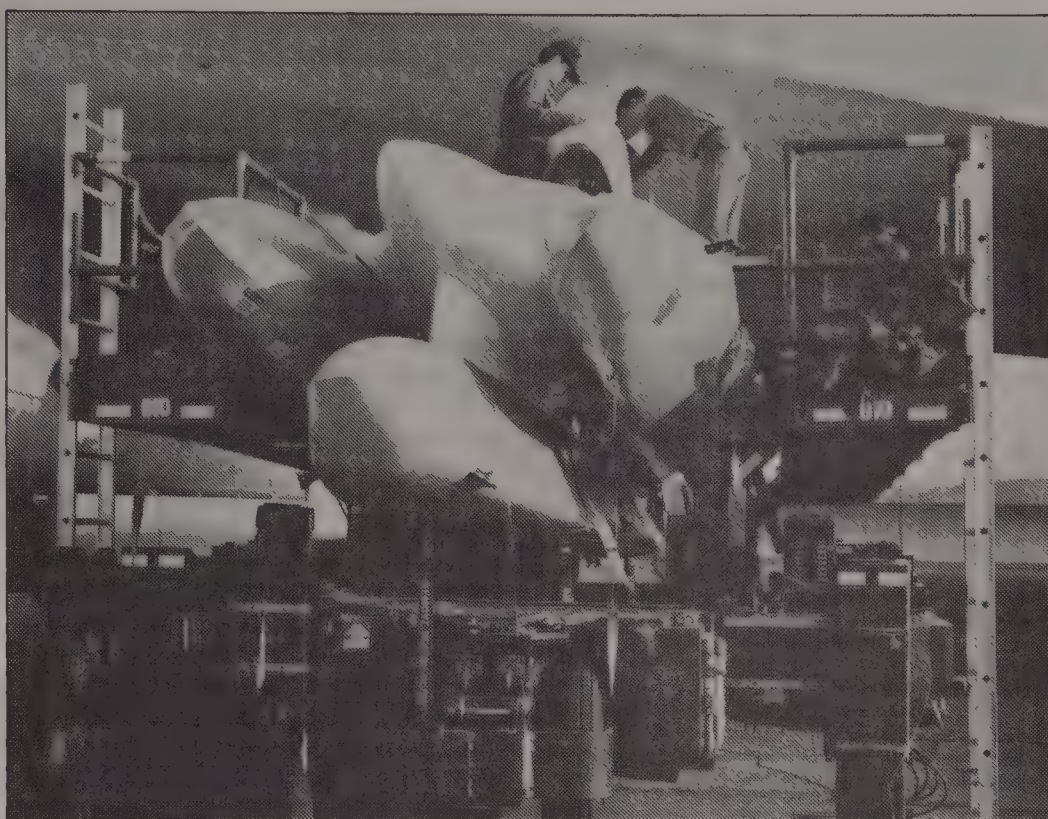
five BUFFs carry the explosive power of 900 Hiroshima blasts. Juxtaposed against the bucolic woods that surround part of the base, these weapons of mass destruction might suggest some kind of contradiction to an outsider. But Strobel maintains, referring to the B-52s, "If we didn't have them, we might not be here. We might be part of the Soviet Union." When Strobel gazes down at the B-52s from an overlooking hill, he truly sees peacekeepers.

READY TO GO

Not far from these BUFFs is a compound surrounded by watchtowers and high fences topped with barbed wire. In this area, five B-52 crews—of six men each—and four tanker crews (which sometimes include women) are kept on alert. Every three weeks, for a week at a time, they live in this compound, ready to run out to the planes if the Klaxon sounds. Periodically, during exercises, the alert crews scramble, not knowing whether it is another test or perhaps the moment they will be ordered to taxi the BUFFs down the two-and-a-half mile runway and carry out the mission. As one Griffiss crew member has said about being on alert, "You realize that moments later you could be running to your airplane. And you're no sooner airborne than your wife, your kids, your whole base is vaporized behind you."

As with all military personnel in the nuclear weapons loop, the behavior of the crew members is monitored under the Personnel Reliability Program. "We have to pay close attention to mindsets and attitudes," says Webb. But the Colonel expresses no doubts about the crew members' willingness and ability to carry out the orders they might one day receive. And he speaks not only as a commander, but as one with first-hand experience. From 1962 to 1969, Webb served on a B-52 crew. During the Cuban Missile Crisis—even though he had not been "fully checked out"—Webb found himself navigating on a B-52 crew. "There was the knowledge that the Cuban Missile Crisis was on," he recalls, "and what we were being asked to do was real. But you do what you're trained to do. There has never been any question in my mind or that of the leadership that the crews can do whatever they're called upon to do, and do it well."

About one mile from the alert compound is the only other high-security—or Priority A—area at Griffiss. Here the nuclear weapons not aboard the on-alert B-52s are stored in igloos—small warehouses covered with grass. From the air they must look like grassy knolls. The grass cover may have been designed for security reasons, but it is no secret where the weapons are stored.



Airmen at Griffiss attaching a load of six cruise missiles to the wing of a B-52

WHEN IN ROME . . .

The cruise missiles represent the latest development at a base that has been expanding its functions ever since it was established in February 1942. Griffiss is the only growth industry in the area. (Some key local industries, such as the Revere Copper and Brass mill, have hit hard times.) And practically the entire community hails the base as a blessing.

Although Griffiss received a lot of press when the cruise missiles first arrived, there was little serious discussion within Rome about the missiles. "If anything, there were jokes, like 'If we're going to be a Soviet target anyway, we might as well have these missiles, too,'" observes the Reverend Tom Sterner of St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church. "The base is a way of life here," he explains. "The people here have lived with it and grown up with it. They'll accept anything that comes along."

Sterner stands out from most of his neighbors in that he is critical of the Reagan administration's nuclear policy. "The United States is going way beyond the needs of a self-defense system," he says. "We are imposing a lot of fear on Americans and people throughout the world." And it is his responsibility to preach the "gospel message of peace" to a congregation that includes Griffiss personnel. The response that he receives is mixed.

"I don't want to offend the military," Sterner notes, "but I don't want to shy away from moral stands." Sterner, though, doesn't concentrate his efforts on advocating anti-administration policies. Instead, he encourages members of his

church to develop a "moral conscience"—to read and discuss the Catholic bishops' pastoral letter on nuclear arms and other materials, to study the concepts of pacifism and just war, and to pray over their deliberations. Whatever they then decide—for example, to continue to work at Griffiss or leave—they will be acting as responsible Catholics, he says. Sterner adds, however, that he knows of no one who has yet left the base for reasons of conscience.

Sterner's church is only a few blocks from Griffiss. Some nights, he says, local residents will hear a loud thunder, and everything in their houses will shake. It's just the 416th running the motors of the B-52s.

Both Colonel Webb and Mayor Carl Eilenberg proudly note the relationship between the city and the base. The base, which, in addition to the 416th, hosts an interceptor squad, communications and engineering divisions, and a research and development center, is the largest single employer in central New York. It provides over 7000 jobs—about 4000 military posts and 3000 civil service positions—with a payroll that tops \$160 million. (One out of every five civilian jobs in Rome is at the base.) According to Air Force estimates, the base pumps over \$300 million into the local economy. Colonel Webb notes that "the community has a vested interest in ensuring Griffiss remains alive and well."

But the ties that bind Griffiss and the city are made of more than dollars. The base, which unlike most Air Force bases is actually located within the city limits, is an integral part of Rome. It goes out of

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its way to promote good community relations by making its facilities available to the public. For instance, the local soccer youth league uses base fields for its matches. And when an outdoor event for the city drug abuse program, featuring ex-New York Yankees pitcher Sparky Lyle, was threatened by rain, Griffiss offered the use of a hangar.

Base employees sit on all the city boards. Mayor Eilenberg claims that every block in Rome has someone who works at the base. "Fathers, sons, and grandsons of the same family have all worked there," he adds. One cannot live in Rome and not know some one who works at the base. To a large degree, Rome is Griffiss. At the local Knights of Columbus hall, the base is praised loudly—even by those who disagree with the Reagan administration's military policy. "People are well aware that Griffiss is a high-priority target and quietly shudder inside," says Sterner. "But, if anything, they feel pride in being part of the U.S. defense system. The people don't want the base to change, except to grow."

Mayor Eilenberg insists that there is "no opposition to the base." But when asked if anyone has anything negative to say, he points to Ed Burton, treasurer of the Mohawk Valley Peace Council. A retired field supervisor for the New York City Department of Health, Burton, 72 years old, is the leader of the local opposition to the base. For the most part, in fact, he comprises Rome's entire opposition. There have been numerous actions at Griffiss in the past few years (sponsored by organizations such as the Syracuse Peace Council, Mobilization for Survival, and the Nuclear Weapons Facilities Networking Project), but these have mainly been attended by out-of-towners.

Demonstrations have been held at Griffiss ever since the Air Force in the spring of 1979 announced its plans to deploy ALCMs there. Upstate activists, who formed the "Cruise Control Project" in response to the 1979 announcement say that this was the first public opposition to cruise missiles anywhere in the world. (It wasn't until December 1979 that plans to deploy cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe were announced.) Last summer several dozen protesters were arrested at the base. On Thanksgiving Day, seven activists (including Elizabeth McAlister) scaled a fence, entered a hangar, hammered on a B-52's bomb-bay doors, and poured their own blood on the plane's wings. They also damaged B-52 engines stored in an adjoining shed. The seven were arrested, and bail was set at \$10,000. But none of these actions have

spurred much local activity.

"Rome is a company town," says Burton. "Some people have indicated that they support our work, but they are not openly active." Future prospects for organizing, he adds, are bleak: "There are not many reasons for optimism." But still the demonstrations continue.

Base officials don't seem to mind. "That's their right," says Webb. The only thing that riles Webb is when protesters try to damage or deface base property.



Sterner: Urging a "moral conscience"

As to the effect of the opposition, the Reverend Sterner terms it "mostly insignificant." Referring to a recent civil disobedience action, he says, "The community found it very comical. The people feel in their hearts that nothing is going to change—not Air Force or U.S. policy. They've accepted it."

At the base, the atmosphere is calm and quiet. Griffiss does not bustle. Except for Priority A areas, security is not overwhelming. In fact, the only thing that separates one side of Griffiss from a quiet residential block is a chest-high fence that hardly deters entry. When national security and nuclear weapon issues are raised by visitors, there is much earnest talk of preserving peace and avoiding conflict. No one at the base speaks of being at the frontlines of the next war. But surely they must know that in case of a nuclear war, Griffiss will immediately become one of the many "fronts." And although the weapons are right at hand, both the threat and possibility of nuclear war seem distant.

Leaving Griffiths one passes a sign that warns motorists that they are about to enter one of the "world's most dangerous places"—a public highway. Inside the base, there is no sense of danger at all.

—David Corn

BY ROBERT FRIEDMAN

Sleeping Off A Bomb Scare

In the space of one month this fall, American television audiences were deprived, for a few crucial days, of pictures of a real war and treated to extensive coverage of an imaginary one. The real war, fought with real guns and real casualties, took place on the island of Grenada; the imaginary one, which resulted in the end of the world as we know it, was staged by a television network on the plains of Kansas.

What was most remarkable about these two events was not how much media attention they received, but how much they violated traditional boundaries between fact and fiction. The real war, in part because it was off limits to the press, gave rise to a series of *ex post facto* rationalizations for the invasion by the Reagan administration, each one more fantastic than the next. The imaginary war, largely because the media made it so, became the real event, with front-page stories in most of the nation's newspapers.

Yet, *The Day After* had nowhere near the political impact either its supporters in the antinuclear movement or its detractors on the right had predicted. When it was all over—after the imaginary war ended and the real world came back into focus; after Ted Koppel told viewers to look out their windows and make sure everything was still there—the nuclear arms race and people's attitudes toward it went on much as before.

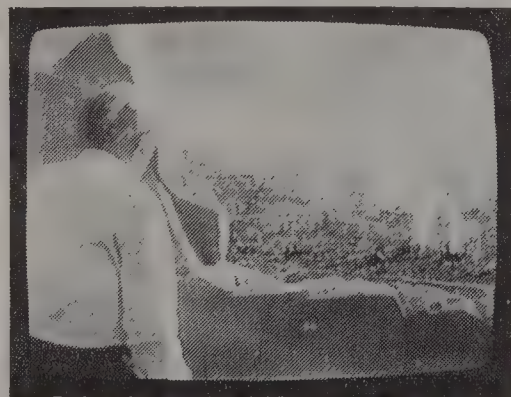
Indeed, two days after *The Day After*, the West German Parliament voted to deploy new U.S. missiles on their soil, making the same decision that led to the outbreak of hostilities in ABC's fictional war. And, over the next few days, as the Soviet Union broke off talks in Geneva and announced its own counterdeployment of new nuclear weapons, it seemed as if the two superpowers were absurdly acting out a script written in Hollywood.

"We live in a strange world," Johnny Carson observed one night that week. "Just think, Jason Robards could have been president, and Ronald Reagan the star of that movie." No doubt the world would be a safer place if those two actors switched roles (or even if Johnny Carson were in the White House), but there was nothing stranger than the apparent rise in Reagan's popularity following *The Day After*. According to a poll conducted by *The Washington Post*, the President's

approval rating actually went up slightly, as did the percentage of people who support a bilateral nuclear freeze.

In another before-and-after survey, taken by ABT Associates for *Time* magazine, the percentage of people who believed that the United States was doing all it could to prevent nuclear war increased after *The Day After*. And Reagan himself, when matched against Walter Mondale, did better after the movie than before. (The only significant change in viewers' attitudes showed up in a Qube poll of 5500 people in six cities; 25 percent said they came away with a more favorable opinion of the movie's sponsors, and only 6 percent had a more negative view.)

Of course, it is impossible to measure the impact of an imaginary war on an audience of 100 million people. But all the available evidence seems to indicate that the fallout from *The Day After* simply wasn't very real. As Edwin Diamond, a professor of political science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose News Study Group conducted studies of viewers in Chicago and Boston, puts it,



"The actual experience turned out to be no more frightening than watching *Carrie*. Not many people seem to have changed their basic attitude about nuclear weapons."

In part, this may have been because the Reagan administration and the media—and the antinuclear movement itself, to some extent—effectively framed the program as political propaganda. A *Newsweek* cover the week before showed a mushroom cloud under the headline, "TV's Nuclear Nightmare: Public Service or Propaganda?" *TV Guide*, after a reportedly fierce in-house battle over whether to feature the program on its cover (it did), ran an editorial in the same issue calling the movie "an intensely po-

litical film." *60 Minutes* did some dust-raking of its own and came up with the startling fact that screenwriter Edward Hume sympathized with the antinuclear movement all along. Even Albert Shanker—remember the Woody Allen joke about how World War III started when Albert Shanker got the Bomb—weighed in that Sunday in *The New York Times*, denouncing the film as a "piece of propaganda."

The effort to frame the film, to contain its emotional force, continued after the broadcast as well. The image of Secretary of State George Shultz, sitting by a fire in his suburban living room, telling viewers not to worry, was clearly intended to calm the nation's nerves. (Though the sight of the Secretary in such a state of mental torpor may have had just the opposite effect.) And by inviting several avatars of nuclearism to debate Carl Sagan, Robert McNamara, and Elie Wiesel immediately after the show ABC seemed to be saying that here was an issue on which reasonable men may disagree.

The effect of all this "balancing" was mind-numbing. So much effort was spent telling people what to think—that children under 12 shouldn't watch; that a real nuclear war would be far worse than the one depicted; that the network was playing into Moscow's hands—it's not surprising some people ended up telling *The Washington Post* they were in favor of a freeze and they thought Reagan was doing a good job.

Nor is it surprising that, having transformed what was, in fact, just a television movie into a major news event, the media, through its usual self-correcting mechanism, would turn on its own creation and knock it back down to size. As *The New York Times* editorialized a few days later: "What did Sunday night's *The Day After* finally teach us? Nothing."

But *The Day After* did teach us something. It taught us that enough fear has seeped into the national consciousness that a television movie about an imaginary nuclear war could draw an audience of 100 million people. It taught us that the media has the power to awaken an entire nation to the horrors of nuclear war. And it taught us that if the media—and the Reagan administration—had their way, we'd all go back to sleep again. □

EUROMISSILE DEPLOYMENT

The View From The East

For the past few months, news about the impact of the deployment of NATO's Euromissiles has focused almost exclusively on Western Europe. The American media have carried countless reports about tension in the Atlantic Alliance, the health of West Germany's democracy and the future of the West European peace movement. But in all the coverage and commentary generated by the "hot autumn," one important issue has been sorely neglected: how the NATO deployment will affect the independent peace movements in Eastern Europe that have begun to criticize not only Western military policies, but those of their own Warsaw Pact governments.

Recent acts of state repression in Hungary, East Germany and Czechoslovakia suggest that independent peace movements there are facing a serious challenge. It is probably no coincidence that this comes at the same time as NATO's deployment. As the Soviet Union prepares to base its own missiles in East European countries in retaliation, governments may be worried that what has been a small and fairly tractable movement against militarism might expand into a wider antimissile protest. State authorities seem to have launched a preemptive first strike against their critics—and some East European peace activists fear that in a climate of increasing global tension, this strike has a good chance of success. "The situation is very serious," says Reinhard Klingenberg, an East German activist now living in West Germany. "NATO's insistence on deploying its Euromissiles has made things worse. All along we have demanded disarmament in both East and West. Since there is now no disarmament in the West, the state can say that it tried to negotiate in good faith, but failed. Now, if you fight for peace and disarmament in the East, they'll say you're trying to weaken the state and this gives a certain legitimacy to their crackdown."

AN UNDERRATED MOVEMENT

Although the American media have generally ignored their activities, there are growing independent peace movements in East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In East Germany, the Evangelical Protestant Church, with six million members and constitutionally

guaranteed freedoms granted to no other institution in the country, has given a large independent peace movement a "free space" in which to work. In Hungary, a growing movement with semilegal status has drawn students, professors, working people, and Catholic clergy and laity to the peace debate. A smaller and more heavily persecuted peace movement in Czechoslovakia has formed around the human rights group Charter 77, which has declared the struggle for peace and human rights to be one and the same, and has protested the planned Soviet deployment of missiles in Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

The East European peace movements have protested the general militarization of life in their countries, as well as seeking a deescalation of the arms race and a reduction in the nuclear arsenals of the two superpowers. They have worked for the creation of a conscientious objector status as an alternative to military service, peace education rather than war ed-

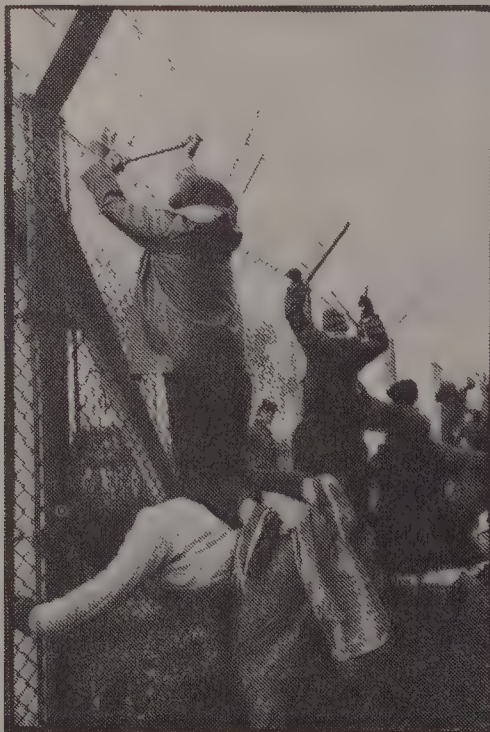
ucation in the schools, and an increase in civil liberties.

Until recently, these movements had an uneasy *modus vivendi* with the state and its official peace councils. Particularly in Hungary and East Germany, they were tolerated as long as they did not challenge state authority, and while periodic harassments and interrogations reminded activists that the state was watching, there was no attempt at systematic repression. Over the past six months, all this seems to have changed.

On July 21, the Czech government sentenced Charter 77 organizer Ladislav Lis—responsible for initiating a dialogue between his organization and Western peace groups—to 14 months imprisonment and three years protective surveillance (otherwise known as house arrest). Before issuing a statement calling for continued East-West talks on arms control in early November, 20 Charter 77 members were detained and warned not to condemn the Soviet Union's coming

BY ROBERT DEL TREDICI

Views From The Nuclear World (3)



GREENHAM COMMON: Women snip down miles of fence surrounding the base. The British government has threatened to shoot anyone who gets too near the missile silos, but at Greenham, at Mutlangen in West Germany, and at the Sigonella U.S. Navy base near the unfinished Comiso base in Italy, where the U.S. missiles have arrived, the protests continue.

deployment of missiles in Eastern Europe. In Hungary, members of the Peace Group for Dialogue—who had enjoyed a great deal of freedom of movement—were suddenly arrested after they attempted to organize a peace camp last July. Fifteen West European peace activists who had come to Hungary to inaugurate the camp were deported and the group's discussions with Hungary's official peace council were abruptly curtailed. The group has become so demoralized that it has decided to disband temporarily.

In East Germany, the independent peace movement has always been stronger than in Hungary, and the situation is more complex and difficult to gauge. At its September synod, the Federation of Evangelical Churches came out clearly against deterrent thinking and both superpowers' new missiles and in October the official Communist Party newspaper published two letters from clergymen expressing fears about the coming Soviet deployment. A group of

Americans who recently toured East Germany as part of an ecumenical delegation found local churches very active, especially during the 10 days of the annual "Peace Decade" in November. As well as holding prayer vigils, meetings and performances, some congregations wrote letters to East German leader Erich Honecker thanking him for his opposition to the NATO deployment and asking him to take an independent stand from the Soviet Union on its proposed retaliation. A number of people even bravely refused to sign the official pro-missile petitions that were circulated in factories and schools. The peace activists working within the church have always taken care to maintain their legitimacy with the government, and according to the visiting Americans, most of them are now more worried about the missiles than about a possible crackdown.

Nonetheless, some church activists have been subject to increased restrictions. In September, Lothar Rothau, a deacon and peace activist in Halle, was

fired because the church contended his methods were "too provocative." He was immediately arrested and sentenced to three years in jail. Although the church has protested, he has not been released, and one of his co-workers, a young woman who had prepared peace services for children, has also been imprisoned.

UNWILLING EMIGRÉS

The worst problems, however, have been encountered by groups that are less closely tied to the church. One of the most active was born in the university town of Jena in the early 1970s when a few young people began to meet in a church office building after a rare "unofficial" concert by the American gospel singer Etta Cameron. At first, they discussed Christianity and the cultural issues that preoccupy so many young East Germans. By 1978, with a following of 200, they had turned their attention to peace. They proposed a Socialist Peace Service as an

(continued on page 31)

TURKEY

Where Peace Is Treason

Turkey's national elections in November were hailed in Washington, D.C., as a step toward democracy and widely condemned in Europe as a travesty of the electoral process. Less than a month afterwards, the country's military rulers had extended martial law, tightened press censorship, given their proxies in northern Cyprus the go-ahead for a unilateral declaration of independence, and passed harsh sentences on a few of their 45,000 political prisoners—including 18 leaders of the Turkish Peace Association.

Founded in 1977 by the Istanbul Bar Association, the TPA was Turkey's first and only non-partisan peace organization. In its three years' existence before General Kenan Evren's coup, it campaigned against U.S. plans to deploy cruise and Pershing missiles and the neutron bomb in Turkey, promoted the Helsinki Conference's agreement on detente, and organized more than 40 public meetings on peace and disarmament. Its leaders included diplomats, members of parliament, the heads of professional and women's organizations, trade unionists, artists, and academics.

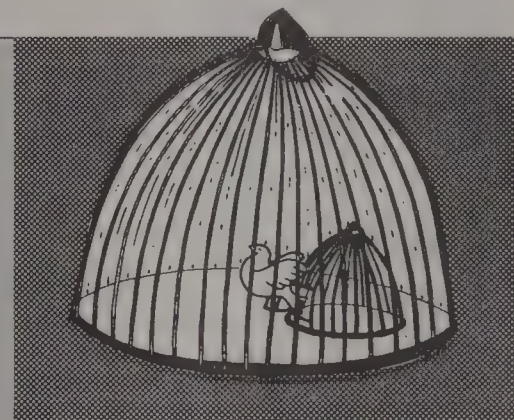
The TPA leaders were arrested by the military police in March 1982 and accused of forming a "conspiratorial" organization to subvert national security and overthrow the state. Their martial-law trial, conducted in a converted basketball court in Istanbul, lasted for 18 months. The evidence brought by the prosecution

to prove the TPA's communist affiliations and subversive intent included members' attendance at World Peace Council conferences, confessions extracted from witnesses under torture, and unsolicited mail sent to the TPA office by Turkish Communist Party members abroad. Peter the Great's Last Will and Testament (1682), which calls for Russian annexation of Turkish warm water ports, was ceremoniously exhumed to prove that by criticizing NATO bases in Turkey, the TPA was furthering a historic Russian plot.

AD E FACTO DEATH SENTENCE

In November, the TPA leaders were sentenced to eight years' imprisonment under a law concerning "illegal organizations" that came to Turkey's constitution directly from Mussolini's penal code. They are now crammed together in a small damp cell in the Metris Military Prison in Istanbul. Most of them are well into their fifties, and the TPA president, former ambassador Mahmud Dikerdem, is seriously ill with prostate cancer. Prison conditions are so bad that Dikerdem's son Mehmet, who has set up a campaign to free the TPA in London, has called the generals' verdict a "de facto death sentence." According to Mehmet Dikerdem, the prisoners' best hope lies in an international pressure campaign for their release.

The TPA leaders are by no means the only victims of the Turkish junta, which



has built 20 new prisons in three years. But because of Turkey's rôle in NATO strategy, the peace movement was a primary target for the generals' regime. Turkey has long borders with the Soviet Union, Iran, Iraq and Syria, and U.S. military aid has almost doubled since the country was "stabilized" by the 1980 coup. The likely figure for 1984 is \$759 million, and the State Department has offered Turkey another \$4 billion to finance the coproduction of 160 F-16 fighter jets—the largest ever single investment in the country's heavily militarized economy. Under the guidance of Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, many of Turkey's 50 or so NATO and U.S. bases and surveillance facilities have been enlarged and modernized. Funds have also been allocated for new nuclear-capable Rapid Deployment Force bases in the east and a new NATO airbase just south of Bulgaria in Turkish Thrace. Turkey already hosts 200 to 300 American Honest John nuclear missiles and gravity bombs. With the silencing of the Turkish Peace Association, it becomes the one NATO country where the United States can pursue its military policy virtually unopposed.—Maria Margaronis

BY CORINNA GARDNER

Forecasting A Nuclear Winter

Closing in on the start of an election year, bidding for public attention was about to begin in earnest. And some leading funders of arms control and antinuclear groups, gathered at a Forum Institute conference in New York, were considering ways of keeping the nuclear weapons issue in the picture. For two days they heard media experts, from the managing editor of *The Log Cabin Democrat*, a newspaper in rural Arkansas, to representatives from the CBS Evening News and *Newsweek*, talk about what makes the news, why, and how. Within a month, a second conference provided a case study of media in the making.

At "The World After Nuclear War" conference held in Washington, D.C., on October 31—November 1, teams of scientists, led by astronomer Carl Sagan and biologist Paul Ehrlich, gave scientific testimony that the long-term global environmental consequences of a major nuclear exchange would be notably worse than had previously been suggested by reports from the National Academy of Sciences in 1975 and the Office of Technology Assessment in 1979. For the first time the catastrophic atmospheric effects, and their compounding damage to biological processes, received wide public attention in the United States.

The publicity was an integral aspect of the conference. The conference's steering committee raised a hefty promotional budget to hire a public relations firm, Porter, Novelli and Associates, to work on the conference for six months before it began. Senior scientists spoke to congressional representatives and took part in a well-attended press conference on the opening morning of the conference. The press needs hard news, lead time, and education, and the conference provided all of these in ample supply. But Porter, Novelli was not the only publicity agent. According to Chaplin Barnes, executive director for the conference, the organizers also "used all of their own channels of communication." The conference was planned to be very much like *The Day After*—a public conjuring of the cosmic nightmare packed inside the world's nuclear arsenal.

The conference bucked the usual routes for releasing new scientific studies. Before *Science* magazine could publish the centerpiece "TTAPS" report (so

called for the initials of the chief investigators' last names), the word was out in the lay press: *Time*, *Newsweek*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Chicago Tribune*, among many other publications.

Perhaps the most significant press came the day before the conference: a cover story about the new findings written by Carl Sagan for *Parade*, a Sunday newspaper supplement that reaches 24 million households. "It was one of the top five stories of the year," says *Parade* edi-



Conference slide depicts agricultural ruin

tor Walter Anderson. At the end of the article there appeared a "what you can do about it" suggestion: Write letters to both Andropov and Reagan, care of *Parade*. By mid-November more than 16,000 letters had flooded *Parade*'s New York office.

The conference also got to someone at *The New Yorker*, who in a lead "Talk of the Town" piece in late November, wrote that it would have been appropriate if "every newspaper in the world had turned over its entire front page to announcing the conference's findings and . . . every television station in the world had beamed those findings at the public for a full twenty-four hours."

Television coverage was not *that* wide, but Sagan and Edward Teller did face off for a full session of *Nightline*, accompanied by a very effective film made for the conference, depicting a "nuclear winter," a term instantly absorbed into the media vernacular. Ehrlich and Sagan also ap-

peared on the popular *Donohue* show.

For those who have been keenly aware of the apocalyptic potential of the nuclear buildup for some time now, the flurry of attention was slightly puzzling. What, then, made the story work? *Parade*'s Anderson points to three key elements in the Sagan article that make up a formula for high reader response: a wrong (the potential devastation of the planet); an aggrieved party (the entire human race); and a means of redress (governments, which Anderson points out, "all ultimately exist by the will of the people").

But these elements exist in plenty of other stories, local and national, from blockading a weapons plant to filing a nuclear free zone resolution. The clincher is *who* is representing the story and how.

Describing Sagan as "extremely credible," Anderson considers him "persuasive" because his argument is not identifiable as liberal or conservative. His argument is scientific. The extrication of the findings from a political polarization was part of the original plan.

"We had to be very careful that there was no perception by the public or other scientists that anyone had a policy axe to grind," says Robert Allen, a member of the conference steering committee.

Last April the steering committee conducted a \$60,000 peer review session involving over 100 eminent scientists, who endorsed the findings. As a result, scientists presenting research at the conference spoke with assurance about the "robustness" of the findings, which, as one scientist quipped, "doesn't mean a plump turkey," but data that holds up under the most critical scrutiny.

By observing professional protocol and working in relative obscurity, the scientists at the conference kept a distance from the political movement against the administration's nuclear weapons policy. That distance is, in fact, politic. "The scientific imprimatur is very important," one freeze organizer at the conference commented. That imprimatur would have the credibility of a rubber stamp if scientists and activists were openly allied. In addition to showing the value of the dynamic tension between the citizens' movement and the experts, the conference showed that attention from new, and better yet, influential constituencies focuses the media on the nuclear debate. And new constituencies turn up new

spokesmen, as Carl Sagan's participation in the televised panel discussion following *The Day After* illustrated.

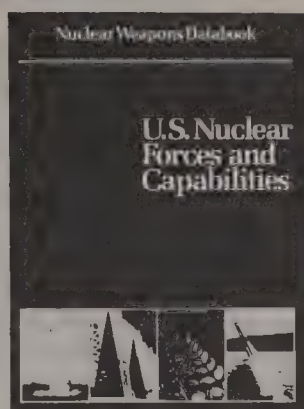
While the conference barred political questions, it created a climate of interest in policy proposals, such as the revival of the 1961 McCloy-Zorin Agreement, currently packaged in the House Concurrent Resolution 123, which calls for a disarmament program supervised by international bodies, and Sagan's suggestion (explained fully in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*) that arms reduction planners set an initial ceiling of under-1000 strategic warheads—the estimated number that would set off the global consequences outlined at the conference. Indirectly, the conference pushed the current unofficial policy debate beyond the freeze and the administration's build-down proposal.

The conference was capped off with a satellite hook-up with members of the Soviet Academy of Science in Moscow. Moscow scientists endorsed the conference findings, and one senior Soviet scientist went on to make a spontaneous plea for "beloved Earth," and for the scientists of both countries to bring the danger of the nuclear arms race to the attention of their governments. This prompted unauthorized applause from both sides. The hook-up verified that scientific concern was, indeed, bilateral. And after two days of apocalyptic envisioning, the show of rapport between the two teams of scientists was welcome relief, suggesting that perhaps the government officials of the two countries could get together some day and start work on ending the Cold War and preventing a nuclear winter.

But just to keep a grip on reality, an administration official in the audience pointed out that "science and politics are two different things." The official, who did not want to be identified, predicted that the policy implications raised by the conference would "continue to perk in the private sector for a while." But eventually, he allowed, the findings would "infiltrate government." □

For offprints of the Science article describing the conference findings ("Ehrlich et al." and "TTAPS"), and for information about the six-minute film made for the conference and narrated by Sagan, contact Kathleen Szymanski of Porter, Novelli and Associates at (202) 342-7000. The conference will maintain an office in Washington, D.C., this year to continue disseminating information. It is preparing an audio-visual package of the Moscow Link satellite hook-up and will make it available to the public. This spring the conference proceedings will be published in book form by W.W. Norton.

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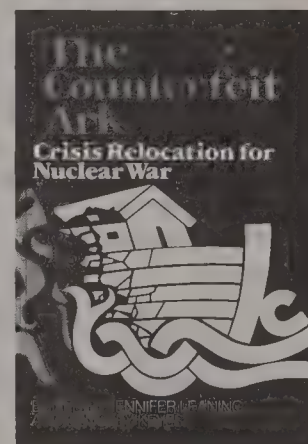
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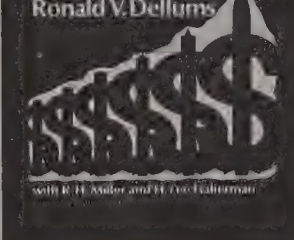
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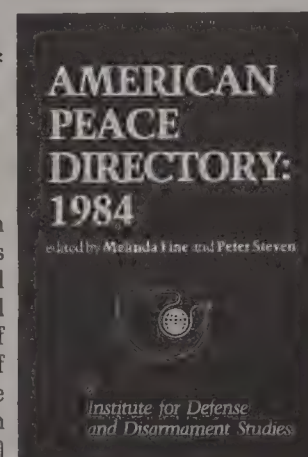
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HOLLY NEAR

Making Music With A Message

Holly Near is one of the few well-known performers who has taken a strong, public stand against the nuclear buildup. Daughter of activist parents, she grew up in a small Northern California town listening to the music of Paul Robeson. At seven, Near began her performing career by singing at weddings and community events. After high school she moved on to act on Broadway and in films and television. In the early 1970s, after touring the Philippines, Okinawa and Japan with Jane Fonda and Donald Sutherland, Near decided to merge her political and artistic concerns. For the past decade she has written and recorded songs about battered women and children, political repression, and racism, as well as love songs.

But Near's overriding concern is with nuclear issues. As she puts it, "working and singing against the Bomb will perhaps buy us the time to discuss all those other things." In 1979, Near orchestrated the "Tour for a Nuclear Free Future," visiting 25 cities and performing before 40,000 people. Most of the money raised from the tour—estimated at between \$100,000 and \$150,000—went to the local antinuclear organizations across the country that sponsored each concert. Three years later, Near's "Be Disarming: Challenge The Nuclear Mentality" tour visited 40 cities. Ten percent of the tour's overall proceeds went to disarmament organizations, and the lobbies of Near's concert halls were often transformed into centers for community groups to distribute antinuclear literature and petitions.

Since 1973, Near has recorded eight albums on her own label, Redwood Records. Last year, she formed a nonprofit organization called Cultural Works, Inc. to help her do more political and musical work on the local level. She recently toured the country with Ronnie Gilbert, formerly of The Weavers. The following interview was conducted by Pamela Abrams and Renata Rizzo of NUCLEAR TIMES.

How did you first decide to do a national tour for disarmament?

In 1979 I was driving with a friend and we were talking about how we should try to do a concert or a tour that really focused on the issue of nuclear war. We thought we could produce a tour that, instead of just being a series of concerts in

different places produced by different groups, would be nationalized—every poster promoting the tour would have some kind of mention of the issue on it. And then we turned on the car radio, and they were announcing the accident at Three Mile Island. So we figured we were on the right track. Our Tour for a Nuclear Free Future [in 1979] was the result.

Although a concert here and a concert there is useful, a national focus brings a whole different sense of community—it connects people around the country. During our Tour for a Nuclear Free Future, we asked the antinuke groups and the feminist groups in a lot of cities to



work in coalition while they organized the concert. It was pretty challenging at that time, and it's probably still difficult. There was a lot of sexism in the peace movement, and there probably always has been. However, there is a real core group of women who work in both movements, and they do move between them very wisely. They were really the foundation for that tour.

But are you just "preaching to the converted"? Have you ever thought about going to garden clubs or the Junior Leagues to get your antinuclear message outside the movement?

I haven't gone into a place where I knew I'd be particularly attacked or have a real confrontation. You know how in a tree the layers grow out? Well, it would



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be like jumping outside and not being surrounded by any support whatsoever, and I don't know how effective that could be. However, if you keep moving to the next group of people who are rubbing shoulders with you, it feels like an easier way to work. Sometimes people will say, "Why are you singing for the convinced?" And I'll say, "Well, what does that mean?" Being convinced has very little to do with the next step that must take place. The convinced is a huge number of people, and if that group could get mobilized. . . it doesn't take that many people to change the world.

But has your refusal to compromise and try to become a mainstream star—like Jane Fonda, for example—hindered your outreach goals?

I'm not sure that I won't go into the mainstream. Mainstream is not a bad word to me. Mainstream is where the bulk of humanity is. I feel that while you tear something down, you also have to be building something up. It's very important for us to keep working with the al-



ternatives, to investigate other ways of communicating.

For example, the way we relate to people in our Redwood Records office—three of us own the company, so we have people who work for us, but we're trying to change the dynamics of the typical employee-employer relationship. In the meantime, we're running a record company—there's no sense kidding ourselves about it—and we're dealing with money, and the records are made with an oil product, and you pay for gas to get to a meeting to tear down the oil companies!

Isn't today's mainstream music less political than that of the '60s?

I think I'm going to look back some time at those songs that were in the Top Ten and see how much that's really true

and how much we're remembering it that way. People talk about the '60s like that, but how many of those songs were really being played on the radio, and what were they really saying?

Have you ever listened to rap music? That stuff kids are doing, that street dance? It's very political. A lot of the music that has come out of black culture and gotten onto the black stations talks about the conditions of the ghetto. It doesn't necessarily talk solution, but I don't think the music of the '60s did either. But because the '60s music was being done by white people it was much more acceptable to mainstream culture. Now, if you listen to some of Stevie Wonder's songs, to reggae music, you'll hear they're very political. So is Dolly Parton's "Nine to Five," but because it was done by a woman who is sort of a sex symbol it wasn't taken seriously. Bruce Springsteen and Billy Joel do some stuff about class and race. But there hasn't been a white folkie-hippie song about the Bomb on the radio and that's different from the '60s.

Do you think that's because the Bomb's just not salable? And are your friends in the music industry concerned about it?

Well, the friends I have in the music industry are concerned: Graham Nash, Bonnie Raitt, John Hall. John wrote "Power" with his wife, Johanna. But I really don't know what the answer to that is. If there was a great song written [about the nuclear threat] I don't know whether it would get played or not. It's funny to try and understand the politics of airplay. A lot of these stations are owned by multinational corporations so you'd think there's no chance. On the other hand, I remember a friend of mine in the film industry saying, "If they can make a buck off you, they will. It doesn't matter what the content is." So I suppose if they've got a tune that will make them a lot of money, it'll happen.

When you perform, one is aware of an almost palpable shedding of cynicism in the audience. Considering the state of the world today, do you think your optimism is appropriate? And have you been accused of being a Pollyanna for not being cynical?

To some extent. But I don't like how it feels to be a cynic. And when I'm in the presence of cynics, I find them extremely boring and depressing. That's not how I want to live my life. Of course, I get depressed. I'm careful not to read the newspapers sometimes. If I dragged myself through every article about torture in Uruguay each morning I think I would become hopelessly discouraged by human beings. When you concentrate on the more positive things, you become helplessly in love with human beings because of all their potential. I would rather be helplessly in love than hopelessly dis-

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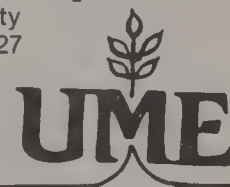
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Perhaps I do this work for very selfish reasons—it makes for a better life to be doing something productive. But it's hard work. It's not like you work for four years and it's over.

Of your political songs, do you find that antinuclear ones are more appealing to audiences than, say, songs about political prisoners?

Not in and of themselves, no. I think it's a fairly common feeling among people not to want to die in a nuclear war, but you must explain through your other songs how to avoid that—you must clarify your position. A lot of people are afraid that if you sing an antiwar song, or an antinuke song, you're anti-United States. You have to let an audience see your whole political commitment for them to understand that it doesn't matter which country's doing what—it must *all* be stopped. It doesn't matter whether we're Russian or British or African or South American or from the States—we're going to have to cross over national and government lines. One single antinuke song can't clear up all of our aggravated feelings, but after a lot of other ideas are put out, and *then* you do a disarmament song, you get a great response.

Can you make music about such an unpleasant subject entertaining?

It's very hard to write an antinuke song—actually, that and torture are probably the hardest subjects I've ever written about. I haven't succeeded yet with torture. I think that what makes people want to listen to these songs has to do with the fact—and I won't play false humility here—that we are skilled artists. A lot of times, people who try to write commentary material do not come from the artist's world, but write out of a necessity for this *type* of song to exist.

It's not easy, then, for the artist who wants to become active in the antinuclear movement or the activist who wants to be artistic?

I believe that there is a need for professional and trained artists to integrate political organizing into their work. And people who are political organizers who like to do music should do it. But if one wants to be an artist, one has to train. You can't look at a performer like Ronnie Gilbert and say, "Oh gosh, I'd like to do that." You have to look at the years of training and dedication to the artistic process. I started training when I was seven years old. I took music lessons, I went to theater class, I went to dance class, I sang all the time. I dealt with the disappointments of having made a commitment to do an event when all my friends were going to the lake to go swimming. It is more than a full-time job to

become a highly skilled and trained professional artist who is available to do political and progressive work. We need hundreds of such people, but we need communities to support their training.

When you put together a rally, you have to see it as a theatrical event. Art is very manipulative—people are coming to this event and we're going to take them from place A to place B, and we want to do it in a meaningful and careful way.

I would rather be helplessly in love than hopelessly discouraged.

Artists should think very seriously about the way they train themselves. Artists are going to be messing with your mind. How do you prepare people who are going to affect you almost more than anything? Political people really need to look at that.

Who will you support for president in 1984?

There is no candidate who I would like to run this country, so the question will be whether I'll vote for the lesser evil. . . . What Reagan has done to strangle whatever breathing space we had has been really hard on people, particularly the poor. So that as much as a person might not like the Democratic candidate, it will be a shame if the progressives divide their votes and make life harder on people and countries who are trying to survive. So, as much as I don't like it, I will probably vote for a candidate who can win, rather than vote for an alternative candidate.

What's your prognosis for the planet? Do you think we'll make it through the next five years before "the big one" drops?

What would you do differently in your life if I answered yes or if I answered no? It's not the point. The point is how we perceive ourselves, and whether we have the self-respect to live well. We may lose it all tomorrow, but you can't organize around that. You'll end up working real hard for five years, and then the big one won't have fallen and you'll be burnt out. Then what do you do for the rest of your life? Our parents thought it was all over, and so did their parents before that. I'm sure people during World War II thought it was all over. You have to pace yourself. You do the best you can. You contribute the best of who you are, and you integrate your self-respect and your vision into your everyday life. And if everybody did that, there wouldn't *be* a big one. □

EASTERN EUROPE

(continued from page 25)

alternative to the military service required in East Germany, but this was rejected by the church hierarchy in 1980 on the grounds that it was unnecessary in a "peace state." They also distributed swords-into-ploughshares badges that were worn by high school students and held a number of small demonstrations against military education in the schools.

Because the Jena group's connection with the church is so loose (it has not asked its members to declare themselves Christians working for peace), it has been particularly vulnerable to state repression. This year, the authorities began to close in. I recently spoke to two of the group's leaders, Christina and Reinhard Klingenberg, who are now living in a community of exiles in West Berlin. Although they had no desire to leave East Germany, they say police authorities informed a group of over 120 activists that they either had to apply for exit visas, or risk incarceration. "When one of our friends died in jail this spring,

we got the message," Christina Klingenberg said. "Many had already left, but those of us who wanted to stay and really improve things began to feel that we simply had to leave East Germany."

"The systematic way in which they give people this 'choice' and force them to leave the country," says 30-year-old Reinhard Klingenberg, "seems to be typical in Jena. What has happened is that the peace generation we have educated has been forced to leave. Right now the Jena group is finished, dried out. There are so few people left that you can't even speak of a group. To form a group in Jena, people would have to start from scratch." Some young people in Jena still do discuss the peace issue, but Margaret Manale, a researcher at Paris' Centre Nationale de Recherches Scientifiques who specializes in East Germany, says that unlike the Klingenbergs, "these young people are probably not really committed peace activists. They are merely young people who want to leave the country and who realize that to be labeled a peace activist is now a guaranteed passport to the West."

A NARROWING CIRCLE

Alan Wolfe, an American expert on the Soviet Union, points out that the link between repression in Eastern Europe and NATO deployment cannot be proved. "When you talk about the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe," Wolfe says, "you're always in the position of guessing. But there is, in this case, a certain logic to such guesswork. And it definitely makes sense to posit a connection between Soviet plans to deploy Eurostrategic missiles in Eastern Europe and increased repression of East European peace movements."

"It was always clear," says Manale, "that these states had described a circle around their independent peace movements. These movements have now reached the limit of that circle." What remains to be seen is how far those limits will constrict and if the peace movement has room to maneuver and can somehow force them to expand again.

—Suzanne Gordon

Suzanne Gordon is associate editor of Working Papers magazine.

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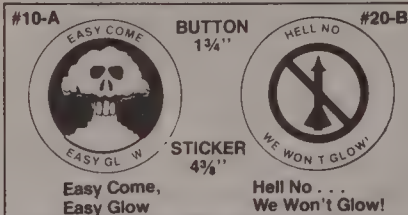
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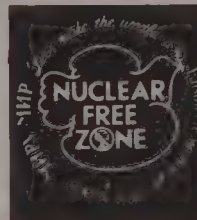
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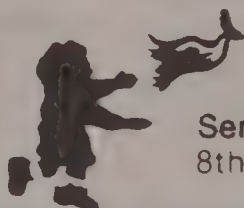
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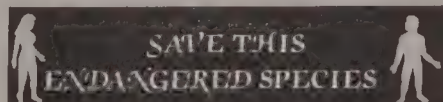
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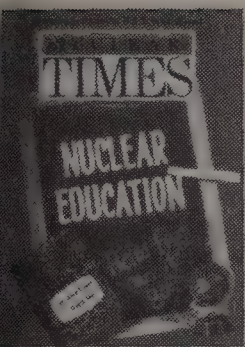
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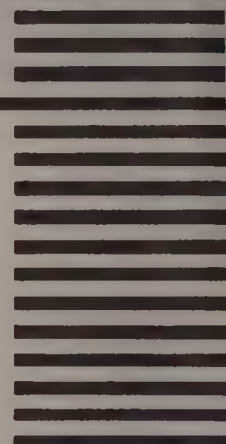
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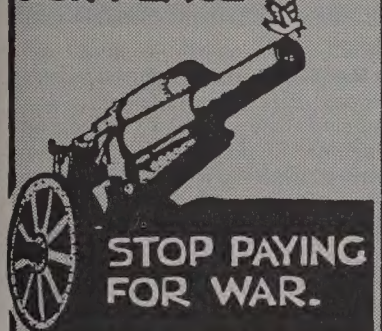
GREEN EARTH PEACE CAMPAIGN

Common Cause/Florida, in coalition with local peace, environmental, and civic groups, is asking people throughout the world to wear something green—a button, bow, or article of clothing—on the last day of every month until the nations of the world agree to freeze the production, testing, and deployment of nuclear weapons. For information and flyers, or to join the Campaign, *contact*: Brenda Myerson, Green Earth Peace Campaign, PO Box 56-1621, Miami, FL 33156 (305) 251-3259.

NATIONWIDE STRIKE FOR PEACE

At six minutes to noon (your time zone) on January 31, People Strike for Peace wants you to drop everything and take up an activity for peace. A few suggestions: write a letter to your congressman, hold a vigil at a nuclear weapons plant, organize a march, participate in civil disobedience, present street theater, hand out leaflets, put an antiwar sign in your front yard, or just talk to your co-workers about peace. Activities can last for six minutes or all afternoon. For more information, *contact*: People Strike for Peace, 799 Broadway, New York, NY 10003 (212) 638-9557.

IF YOU WORK
FOR PEACE



TAXING BUSINESS

The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee has compiled a list of local groups across the country that are organizing tax resistance workshops and/or counseling. To get in touch with the expert nearest you, *contact*: Kathy Levine, The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, PO Box 2236, East Patchogue, NY 11772 (516) 654-8227.

NUCLEAR TIMES IS ON THE AIR

The New York metropolitan area can tune in to **WMCA Radio** (570 on the AM dial) every weekday at 3:45 PM for live nuclear news reports phoned in from the NUCLEAR TIMES office in Manhattan. The reports focus on nuclear weapons issues in the New York region.

JANUARY 1

CALIFORNIA

• **David McReynolds**, staff member at the national office of the War Resisters League, will be touring the **Bay area** during January to speak about "The Case for Unilateral Disarmament." For specific dates and locations, *contact*: War Resisters League West, 85 Carl St., San Francisco, CA 94117 (415) 731-1220.

Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast
Submit February and March events by January 9

JANUARY 2

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** Annual meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); Stony Run Meeting House, 5116 N Charles. *Contact*: WILPF, 3740 Oak Av., Baltimore, MD 21207 (301) 944-2094.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** Annual convention of Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CPPAX); all CPPAX members will have an opportunity to vote on progressive programs for 1984 and to elect new leaders. Actions on the 1984 presidential primaries will be part of the agenda. *Contact*: CPPAX, 25 West St., Boston, MA 02111-1264 (617) 426-3040.

JANUARY 3

UTAH

• **Provo** Freeze meeting to discuss alternatives to an escalating arms race; St. Francis Church, 172 North and 500 West Sts. *Contact*: Sally Watson, Utahns for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze—Provo (801) 785-3757.

JANUARY 5

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Nashua** Forum, with the Rev. Bill Briggs, on his experiences in Central America. *Contact*: Francine Wall, Nashua Peace Center, 22 Meade St., Nashua, NH 03060 (603) 889-0049.

JANUARY 6

NEW YORK

• **Massapequa** PeaceSmith's monthly folk music and poetry coffeehouse. *Contact*: PeaceSmith, 90 Pennsylvania Av., Massapequa, NY 11758 (516) 798-0778.

JANUARY 7

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Nashua** Meeting of the New England Regional War Tax Resistance Network; snow date Jan 14. *Contact*: Francine Wall, Nashua Peace Center, 22 Meade St., Nashua, NH 03060 (603) 889-0049.

JANUARY 8

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• **Leonard Bernstein** will be conducting Baltimore and Washington, DC, area musicians in Mahler's "The Resurrection" for a Musicians Against Nuclear Arms concert to benefit Physicians for Social Responsibility and the freeze. For tickets, *contact*: The Washington Cathedral, (202) 537-6369.

ILLINOIS

• **Wilmette** Talk on space weaponry with Prof. Larry Smarr of the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, plus chamber music, for the benefit of Performances for Peace; First Congre-

gational Church, 1125 Wilmette Av. *Contact*: Bob Cleland, (312) 663-1246.

JANUARY 9

NEW YORK

• **Massapequa** Betty Blake will share slides and experiences from her summer 1983 trip to the Soviet Union. Sponsored by Nassau WILPF and PeaceSmith. *Contact*: PeaceSmith, 90 Pennsylvania Av., Massapequa, NY 11758 (516) 798-0778.

VIRGINIA

• **Roanoke** Meeting, with a report by Steve Dapp on his trip to the Soviet Union; St. John's Episcopal Church. *Contact*: Plowshares Peace Center, PO Box 1623, Roanoke, VA 24008 (703) 985-0808.

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Meeting of Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament. *Contact*: Jeff Prather (206) 329-7184.

JANUARY 11

SOUTH DAKOTA

• **Juli Loesch**, national coordinator of Prolifers for Survival, will be giving a series of talks, "Nukes and the Next Generation," in **Watertown, Brookings, Aberdeen, and Rapid City**. For more information, *contact*: Jerry Folk (605) 336-5523.

JANUARY 12

CALIFORNIA

• **Irvine** Seminar, "Nukespeak: Language, Values and Control," with Mitties McDonald and Jayne Fraese; University Center Heritage Room, University of California at Irvine. *Contact*: Immaculate Heart College Center (213) 470-2293.

CONNECTICUT

• **New Haven** Gandhi Peace Award given to Dr. Robert Jay Lifton; Center Church on the Green. *Contact*: Promoting Enduring Peace, Box 5103, Woodmont, CT 06460 (203) 878-4769.

JANUARY 13

CALIFORNIA

• **Diablo Canyon** Antinuclear groups will begin an extended action, called "The People's Emergency Response Plan," to stop the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant from opening. Interested groups can, among other activities, hold vigils, marches, blockades, and occupations. For more information, *contact*: The Abalone Alliance, 2940 16 St., Rm 310, San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 861-0592.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** Planning meeting for underground poster campaign in Boston area in support of disarmament (uni- and bi-). Must have access to copier. *Contact*: Xerox Artists for Social

Responsibility, 13 Perry St., Cambridge, MA 02139.

JANUARY 14

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** World affairs workshop on U.S./Soviet relations, with Prof. Richard Farkas and others; DePaul Lincoln Park Campus. *Contact*: League of Women Voters of Chicago Peace Calendar, 67 E Madison St., Ste 1406, Chicago, IL 60603 (312) 236-0315.

KANSAS

• **North Newton** Annual meeting of Kansans to Freeze the Arms Race; Bethel College Mennonite Church. *Contact*: Brian Findley (316) 221-9139.

MINNESOTA

• **St. Paul** Square dance to benefit peace with Run of the Mill City Band and Sarah Barsel, caller. *Contact*: Twin Cities Area Peace Coalition, 2395 University Av., Rm 310, St. Paul, MN 55114 (612) 644-4616.

TEXAS

• **Dallas** Planning meeting of the Red River Network for an August pilgrimage to the Pantex Plant in Amarillo. *Contact*: The War Resisters League (214) 337-5885 or the American Friends Service Committee (512) 474-2399.

JANUARY 15

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Concert, with Holly Near, Trapezoid, and John McCutcheon. For tickets, *contact*: The Great American Music Hall, 859 O'Farrell St., San Francisco, CA 94109 (415) 885-0750.

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** In celebration of Martin Luther King's birthday, the Peace Museum will open its "Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.: Peacemaker" exhibit, and hold an awards ceremony for winners of a peace poster and essay contest for Chicago high school students. The museum's "Give Peace A Chance" exhibit, based on the peace songs and campaigns of leading folk and rock musicians, will run through Jan 31. *Contact*: The Peace Museum, 364 W Erie St., Chicago, IL 60610 (312) 440-1860.

MISSOURI

• **St. Louis** Meeting of the St. Louis Covenant Community of War Tax Resisters. *Contact*: Patrick Coy (314) 658-2425 or Janet McKennis (314) 241-5008.

NEW YORK

• **Levittown** Joan Driscoll of the California Nuclear Resistance Coalition will present a Vandenberg Air Force Base slideshow. *Contact*: PeaceSmith, 90 Pennsylvania Av., Massapequa, NY 11758 (516) 798-0778.

• **Nyack** The Fellowship of Reconciliation's sixth annual Martin Luther King Award for one who has carried on the tradition of King at the grass roots. *Contact*: Marci Ameluxen, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601.

SOUTH CAROLINA

• **Florence** Educational workshop on the '84 elections and the freeze as an electoral issue. *Contact*: Denny Sanderson, Pee Dee Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, (803) 665-4361.

JANUARY 16

IDAHO

• **Boise** Music for Life classical concert

series, with members of the Boise Philharmonic and Karen Krout, concert mistress. *Contact:* The Snake River Alliance, PO Box 1731, Boise, ID 83701 (208) 344-9161.

KANSAS

• **Hutchinson** Talk on the medical consequences of nuclear war with Dr. Dennis Kepka; the film *The Last Epidemic* will also be shown. *Contact:* Billie Frazier, The Hutchinson Interfaith Peace Alliance, 301 E 16 St, Hutchinson, KS (316) 669-9892.

NEW YORK

• **Buffalo** Educational meeting on war tax resistance. *Contact:* Western New York Peace Center (716) 835-4073.

WISCONSIN

• **Milwaukee** Concert for A Peaceful World, with conductor Lukas Foss and members of the Milwaukee Symphony Orchestra; Brother Booker Ashe will commemorate the life of Martin Luther King; Uihlein Hall, Performing Arts Center. *Contact:* Milwaukee Mobilization for Survival, 1016 N 9 St, Milwaukee, WI 53233 (414) 272-0961.

JANUARY 17

GEORGIA

• **Athens** Monthly program and business meeting of the Northeast Georgia Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze; Athens Regional Library. *Contact:* Tom Clements, 1010 S Lumpkin St, Athens, GA 30605 (404) 725-7717.

MONTANA

• **Helena** Meeting of the Helena Religious Union for Nuclear Disarmament, with the Rev. John Worcester, who spent six months in prison for civil disobedience as part of the Silence One Silo campaign; the film *Gods Of Metal* will also be shown. *Contact:* Frank Kromkowski (406) 443-0843.

JANUARY 18

CALIFORNIA

• **Pasadena** Talk, "Ethical Questions in Military Employment," with Brian Barry, Charles Schwartz, C.I. Van Hudson, and Marvin Goldberger; Baxter Hall at Cal Tech. *Contact:* Immaculate Heart College Center (213) 470-2293.

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** Talk, "Themes for 1984,"

with Sanford Gottlieb, executive director of United Campuses for the Prevention of Nuclear War (UCAM); Levering Hall, Johns Hopkins University, Charles and 33 St. *Contact:* The Maryland Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 301 E 25 St, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 467-6500.

JANUARY 19

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Orientation meeting of Beyond War, a national organization in the process of establishing local groups. *Contact:* Helen Case-Kolff (206) 325-0714.

JANUARY 20

CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** Seventh national conference of the Mobilization for Survival; organizations wishing to meet with other activists from across the country to discuss MfS's national program for 1984 are invited to attend; Berkeley campus of the University of California; through Jan. 22. The conference will be preceded by a Nuclear Free Zone Organizers Conference. *Contact:* The National MfS Office, 853 Broadway, Rm 2109, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

COLORADO

• **Denver** Statewide strategy conference to examine electoral and nonelectoral goals, through Jan 21. *Contact:* Colorado Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 1660 Lafayette St, Denver, CO 80218 (303) 832-2299.

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Pittsburgh** Bernice Reagon, lead singer for Sweet Honey in the Rock and formerly with the Freedom Singers, will be given the Thomas Merton Award for her peace work; The Bidwell Presbyterian Church, 1025 Liverpool St. *Contact:* The Thomas Merton Center, 1111 E Carson St, Pittsburgh, PA 15203 (412) 381-1400.

JANUARY 22

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** The Illinois Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign will be holding a candidates' forum for the four Illinois U.S. Senate democratic candidates; date is subject to change. *Contact:* The Illinois Nuclear Weapons Freeze Cam-

paign, 220 S State St, Ste 1600, Chicago, IL 60604 (312) 922-2423.

• **McHenry** Talk, "The Medical Effects of Nuclear Weapons and the Implementation of the Pastoral Letters," with representatives of Physicians for Social Responsibility; St. Patrick's Church, 3500 W Washington St. *Contact:* The Rockford Diocesan Peace Volunteers (312) 639-7777.

JANUARY 25

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** Talk, "Peace Pastoral: A Specialist's Reflections," with the Rev. Bryan Hehir; Claretian Renewal Center, 1119 Westchester Pl. *Contact:* Cardinal's Commission on Peace and Justice (213) 630-1448.

WASHINGTON

• **Poulsbo** Sande Bishop and Theresa Tipton will talk about their 1983 Peace Walk taken with survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. *Contact:* Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Rd, Poulsbo, WA 98370 (206) 692-7053.

WYOMING

• "Nuclear Strategy: The Human Side," a nonpartisan program featuring the films *If You Love This Planet*, *A Critical Voice*, and *The Price of Freedom*, will be touring the state, stopping in **Rawlins, Rock Springs, Evanston, Jackson, Riverton, Cody, Gillette, and Torrington**. Panel discussions with local experts will also be featured; through Feb 2. *Contact:* Richard Kent, Project Director, 511 S 6 St, Laramie, WY 82070 (307) 742-3156.

JANUARY 26

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

• Annual national meeting of Physicians for Social Responsibility; Shoreham Hotel, through Jan 29. *Contact:* Mary Lord, PSR, 639 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 491-2754.

JANUARY 27

OHIO

• **Cleveland Heights** An evening of poetry, music and art, with slideshow, "Nuclear Vision"; Fairmount Presbyterian Church, 2757 Fairmount Blvd. *Contact:* The Cleveland Freeze, 3800

Bridge Av, Cleveland, OH 44113 (216) 631-2210.

UTAH

• **St. George** "Time for Justice," vigil, to mark the 33rd anniversary of nuclear testing in Nevada and to remember those who have died from the effects of nuclear weapons. Vigils planned for other areas of Utah and other states. For a vigil packet, *contact:* Janet Gordon, Citizen's Call, Box 1722, Cedar City, UT 84720 (801) 586-6674.

JANUARY 28

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** Meeting, "Third World, Women, and Peace," with Phyllis Jones, national board member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF); Stony Run Meeting House, 5116 N Charles. *Contact:* WILPF, 3740 Oak Av, Baltimore, MD 21207 (301) 944-2094.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• "Ski for Peace," the fourth annual cross country ski-a-thon to benefit the American Friends Service Committee, taking place in **Cantebury, Hanover, and New Ipswich**. *Contact:* Arnie Alpert, AFSC, Box 1081, 77 N Main St, Concord, NH 03301 (603) 224-2407.

NEW YORK

• **Syracuse** Meeting on nuclear weapons facilities conversion. *Contact:* Syracuse American Friends Service Committee, (315) 475-4822.

JANUARY 29

IOWA

• **Sioux City** Community introduction to Beyond War Project, featuring Ret. Admiral Gene LaRocque; Eppley Auditorium. *Contact:* Siouxlanders Concerned About the Nuclear Arms Race, Box 2074, Sioux City, IA 51102.

OHIO

• **Cleveland** Concert to benefit the freeze, with members of the Cleveland Orchestra, poets, and dancers; Fairmont Presbyterian Church, Fairmont and Coventry Rds. *Contact:* The Cleveland Freeze, 3800 Bridge Av, Cleveland, OH 44113 (216) 631-2210.

FEBRUARY 1

CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** Meeting of Women for Peace with guest speaker Mary Kaufman, a Nuremberg War prosecutor. *Contact:* East Bay Women for Peace, 2302 Ellsworth St, Berkeley, CA 94704.

FEBRUARY 3

IOWA

• **Des Moines** Workshop, "How to Peace Evangelize in the Parish," through Feb 4. *Contact:* Sr. Gwen Hennessey, Catholic Peace Ministry, Des Moines, IA 50312 (515) 274-3687.

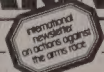
NEW YORK

• **Massepequa** PeaceSmith Coffeehouse; see Jan 6.

• **New York** Seminar on "Proposals for Disarmament: The Politics of Peace"; Teachers College. *Contact:* Philip Fey, Director, Office of Continuing Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027 (212) 678-3147.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo with Tracey Cohen, Douglas Lavin and J.P. Demeter

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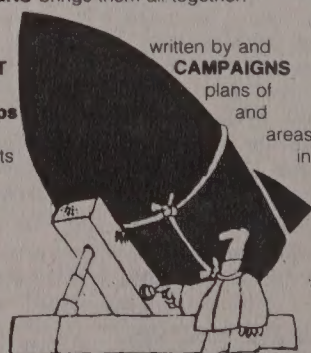
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Resources

REPORTS

WIN Back issues (catalog from *WIN* magazine, 326 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, NY 11217. Most issues are \$1 each). After almost 20 years, *WIN*, a magazine devoted to "peace and freedom through nonviolent action," has folded. Back issues are available.

World Military and Social Expenditures 1983, by Ruth Leger Sivard (\$4 from World Priorities, Inc., PO Box 2540, Washington, DC 20007 202-965-1661. Earlier editions, going back to 1974, can be ordered singly or in sets). The ninth edition of this invaluable report employs graphs, charts, and maps to illustrate the imbalance in the world's military and economic spending. Many startling statistics; for example, the cost of a single nuclear submarine equals the annual education budget for 23 developing countries with 160 million school children.

NEW BOOKS

No Place to Hide, 1946/1984, by David Bradley (\$8.95 paper, University Press of New England). Originally published in 1948—it became a bestseller—this is the log of a doctor who witnessed atomic testing in the Pacific as a radiological monitor. In a new epilogue Bradley concludes that the tests severely underestimated the "devastating sociological impact of the bomb." He includes the Army's "guide to the dangers of radioactivity."

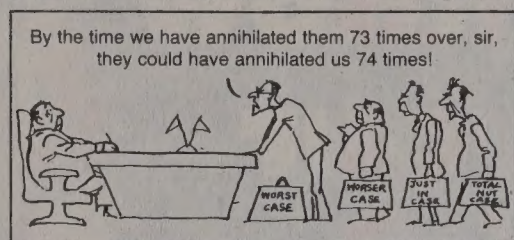
Profits Without Production, by Seymour Melman (\$18.95 hardcover, Knopf). A Columbia professor of industrial engineering, and longtime critic of the military economy, argues that American business executives have responded to inflation, the baby boom, higher taxes and interest rates, and regulatory burdens by concentrating on short-term profits and downplaying efficient production. Melman documents his charges with case histories, most from the automotive industry. His book provides a brief for conversion to peacetime economy as the only hope for revitalizing the American economy.

First Harvest: The Institute for Policy Studies, 1963-1983 (\$8.95 paper, Grove Press/Evergreen), edited by John S. Friedman with preface by Gore Vidal. This collection of 43 essays by visiting authors and scholars commemorates the twentieth anniversary of this independent-left think tank, founded by two former Kennedy advisors.

Disarm — or Die, by Homer A. Jack (\$7.95

paper, World Conference on Religion and Peace, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017). The first UN Special Session on Disarmament in 1978 produced such a strong "Final Document" that it has been called "the greatest state paper of all time." The second SSD in 1982 was "an abject failure," says Jack, in that it did not adopt a comprehensive program of disarmament that would reflect the first session's Final Document. Jack outlines what disarmament strategy the UN might now pursue.

Peace for Beginners, by Ian Kellas (\$4.95 paper, Writers and Readers Publishing, Inc.). An amusing and clear comic-book guide to the arguments for and against



peace from science and secular politics, religion's arguments for peace, the history of peace movements and nonviolent resistance, the special case of the Bomb. The book concludes with a guide to peace groups and their policies.

FILMS

U.S. vs U.S.S.R.: Who's Ahead? (29 minutes, color videotape, \$31 rental, \$49 sale from Idéal Communications, PO Box 7660, Washington, DC 20013 202-543-7777. Produced by Gary Krane for the Center for Defense Information). The film poses four questions: Is the Soviet Union superior to the United States in military forces? Are Warsaw Pact forces superior to NATO's? Are the Soviets more capable of military intervention around the world? Is our best guarantee of national security to continue to strive for military superiority over the Soviets? Martin Sheen narrates, and various experts—military leaders, defense R & D specialists, and former CIA analysts—give answers that add up to a depiction of the pursuit of military superiority as a dangerous and losing game.

Nuclear Newsreel (28 minutes, color videotape, \$45 rental, negotiation possible. Contact Mark Freeman, Fine Line Productions, 1101 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94117). Bernard Mayes anchors field reports from around the world on June 20, 1983—the International Day of Nuclear Disarmament.

Newsreel covers the Amsterdam meeting of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, protests in Tokyo and West Germany, a women's peace camp outside a Boeing plant in Seattle, and demonstrations at Lawrence Livermore, and in Burlington, Vermont; Albuquerque, New Mexico; San Diego, California; and Groton, Connecticut.

In Our Hands (90 minutes, 16 mm color, fee negotiable. Contact Philip Rosenthal, Libra Cinema 5, 1585 Broadway, New York, NY 10036, or call him collect at 212-975-0550. Produced by Robert Richter and Stanley Warnow). Over 250 filmmakers, many of them award-winners, formed 41 separate volunteer crews to record the June 12, 1983, rally in New York City. This rich and moving overview provides glimpses of the Bread and Puppet Theater; celebrities taking part in the march; performances by James Taylor, Rita Marley, Holly Near, and many others; speeches; statements by Japanese A-bomb survivors (English voiceover by Meryl Streep); children; friendly cops; and people from all over the country. The film, which has been shown only at benefits to date, will officially premier at New York City's Film Forum in February, and thereafter in other cities, including San Francisco and Santa Cruz, California; Grosse Pointe, Michigan; and Chicago.

A Call for Peace: The Military Budget and You (28 minutes, color videotape, \$31 rental; 16 mm, \$45 from the Conference on the Fate of the Earth, 1045 Sansome Street, San Francisco, CA 94111 415-433-7373. Produced by Steve Rauh). Harry Belafonte introduces Congressman Ronald Dellums, chairman of the Military Installations and Facilities Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee, who addressed the Conference on the Fate of the Earth in New York in 1982. "Politicians are followers—you are the leaders," Dellums says. "Disarmament must not become the white middle class issue of the 1980s."

CALENDARS

Against the Tide: Pacifist Resistance in the Second World War, 1984 desk calendar (\$5 each, four for \$18 from War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012). This appointment calendar includes oral histories of some of the 40,000 conscientious objectors and other World War II activists.

Can't Kill the Spirit, 1984 wall calendar (\$7.75 each, three for \$20, five for \$31, including postage, from Syracuse Cultural Workers Project, PO Box 6367, Syracuse, NY 13217 315-474-1132). Twelve photos, mostly in color, commemorate International Women's Day, the Weavers, the Bread and Puppet Theater, and other peace workers. □

It's 11 pm.

Do you know where your money is?



Jim Marotta-Jarneck

IF YOU'VE LEFT YOUR money in an ordinary bank or money market fund, chances are that some of it's working night and day to help build nuclear power plants.

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